

# ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT

## HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED,  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

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## REIGN OF RAMSES II

### GREAT ABYDOS INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

**251.** This is the longest inscription of Ramses II's reign. Together with the Kubbân Stela, it has been regarded as the most important source for his youth and early regency. It shows us the young king in his first year journeying to Thebes,<sup>b</sup> and in mentioning a statue of his father erected by Ramses on that occasion at Thebes, the narrator takes occasion to summarize the king's works in provision for his father (ll. 22-26).<sup>c</sup>

**252.** Ramses now sails to Abydos (ll. 26-32), where he finds Seti I's beautiful temple (Baedeker, 218-23) unfinished, and its endowments violated (ll. 32, 33). He immediately summons his court and officials (ll. 33, 34), who come in with the usual fulsome adulation demanded by court etiquette (ll. 34-40), after which Ramses announces to them his intention to complete his father's buildings (ll. 40-43), and takes

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occasion to recall to his courtiers how his father had him publicly crowned coregent while a mere child, giving him extensive authority and a harem (ll. 43-48). He proceeds to describe his administration as coregent (ll. 48-50), and reiterates in conclusion his determination to complete his father's buildings (ll. 51-55). Hereupon the courtiers fairly outdo themselves in a long-winded eulogy of the dutiful son (ll. 55-69). The narrator now recounts the summons to the architects, artists, and workmen, who are commissioned to complete Seti I's temple. At the same time the king re-enacts and reorganizes his father's endowments for the maintenance of the temple and its mortuary service (ll. 69-75).

253. When all is done, Ramses addresses his deceased father, calling attention to all these pious works for his father's welfare in the hereafter (ll. 75-93), and showing how it will be to his father's interest to ensure unbroken continuance of these favors, by inducing the gods, among whom he now is, to grant Ramses a long reign. Ramses assures his father that his (Seti's) mortuary offerings shall be maintained as long as he (Ramses) continues on the throne (ll. 93-98). To this remarkable compact Seti, in reply, agrees, intercedes with the gods, and assures Ramses that the gods have decreed<sup>a</sup> him an eternal reign, and that he himself enjoys the greatest felicity because of his son's provision for him (ll. 98-116).

254. The inscription, it will be observed, is historically very important, as well as interesting in several respects. The statements regarding Ramses' coregency in youth are detailed and circumstantial. His appearance in public for coronation, in the presence of his father, reminds us of the

similar account of Hatshepsut's coronation (II, 215 ff.). But the evidence of the Karnak reliefs (§§ 123 ff.) is so conclusively against his ever having been so chosen by Seti that, like the said story of Hatshepsut's coronation, we must regard it as a fabrication.<sup>a</sup> Such a fiction could hardly have been published immediately on Seti's death, and when we remember Ramses' extraordinary compact with his deceased father, the question arises whether the inscription is a later product of Ramses' reign, and his long life is the source which suggested the fiction of the compact, to which the narrator now attributes Ramses' remarkable longevity.<sup>b</sup> In any case, the inscription was written after the completion of his works for his father, and after some of his foreign campaigns (l. 93).

255. The king's visit to Thebes in his first year is corroborated by an independent document in the Theban tomb of the High Priest of Amon, Nebunnef (*Nb-wm-nf*).<sup>c</sup> A relief in this tomb shows Ramses II, accompanied by his queen, Mutnofret, and the court, addressing Osiris. Before the god is the following inscription:

256. Year 1, third month of the first season, — —<sup>d</sup> when his majesty went north from the Southern City, 'having' celebrated the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes . . . . .,<sup>e</sup> [Mut] . . . . .,<sup>e</sup> Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest, and the Divine Ennead



dwelling in Thebes; at his beautiful feast of Opet (named): "Returning-Thence-with-Praise."

257. As Nebunnef was High Priest, this great feast of Amon is naturally recorded in his tomb. It is the same feast, celebrated in the month Hathor, by Thutmose III<sup>a</sup> on his return from his first campaign (II, 541, 550); and, this being the first celebration of it in Ramses' reign, it naturally called him to Thebes, whose powerful priesthood he could not fail to conciliate by appearing at their temple in person on such an important occasion.

258. Returning now to our great document, we find in the relief scene preceding the long inscription that the young King Ramses II appears offering an image of the goddess Mat (Truth) to Osiris, Isis, and his deified father, Seti I. The speeches of the divinities are of solely religious interest. The speech of Ramses, which merges into the long inscription itself, is of historical importance, and begins the following translation:

*Speech of Ramses*

259. <sup>18</sup>Utterance of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II) in the presence of his father, Osiris: "I champion thee, <sup>19</sup>like thy son, Horus; I have done according to [his]<sup>b</sup> doing. I repeat for thee monuments in the necropolis, <sup>20</sup>I double offerings for thy ka. I answer on behalf of my father, he being in the Nether World (*Dw ʿ t*), in the place [— —], <sup>21</sup>for the son becomes the champion of his father, like Horus, when he championed his father, forming him that formed him, fashioning him that fashioned him, making to live the name of him that begat him, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses (II), given life, like Re, forever, beloved of Osiris, lord of Abydos."

*Voyage to Thebes, Summary of Ramses' Works for His Father*

260. <sup>22</sup>When the Lord of the Two Lands arose as king, to act as champion of his father, in the year 1, on his first voyage to Thebes, he fashioned

statues of his father; King Menmare (Seti I) was he; one in Thebes, another in Memphis, in the temple which he built for them, <sup>23</sup>an addition to the beauty of that which was in Abydos of Towêr, which he loved, which his heart has desired since he was on earth, the soil of Wennofer (Osiris). He repeated the restoration of the monuments of his father, which are in the cemetery, making his name live, fashioning his statues, giving offerings abiding <sup>24</sup>for his august ka — his house, supplying his altars, upbuilding that which was fallen in the house which he loved, erecting the seats in his temple, laying its walls, setting up its doorways, erecting the ruins in the seat of<sup>a</sup> his father, in the district of Osiris ——— <sup>25</sup>the double façade made therein, in everything which the Great in Victory, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses (II), given life, made for his father, Osiris, the King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant. He established for him possessions, supplied with food of the [— —] his heart <sup>26</sup>being kindly disposed toward him that begat him, his feelings inclining toward him that brought him up.

*Ramses Sails from Thebes to Abydos*

261. On one of these days it happened in the year 1, the third<sup>b</sup> month of the first season, the twenty-third day, at the [‘feast’]<sup>c</sup> ——— after the return of Amon to Karnak, that he (the king) came forth, favored with might and victory from Amon-Atum in Thebes, and he rewarded him with myriads of years, even to the duration of Re in heaven. Hear ——— ‘exalted’ forever and ever. He raised his hand, bearing the censer, to the horizon of him who abides in the West, his offering being excellent and acceptable to his [‘father’], the lord of love. His majesty departed from the Southern City ——— Re.

(He) began the way,<sup>d</sup> to make the voyage, while the royal barges illuminated the flood, turning down-stream to the seat of might, “House<sup>e</sup>-

of-Ramses-Meriamon-Great-in-Victory." His majesty entered, to see his father, the voyage of the waters of the canal of Abydos<sup>a</sup> (*Nj-wr*), in order to found offerings for Wennofer, consisting of every good thing, that which his ka loves, in order to praise <sup>30</sup>— — — for his brother, Onouris, son of Re in truth, like himself.

*Ramses Finds Cemetery Buildings in Ruins*

**262.** He found the buildings of the cemetery belonging to former kings, their tombs<sup>b</sup> in Abydos, beginning to be in ruin. The half of them were in process of construction <sup>31</sup>— — — in the ground, their walls [*lying*] incomplete, not one brick touching<sup>c</sup> another. That which was only begun<sup>d</sup> had become mere rubbish. There was no one building — — — who was carrying out according to his plans, since their lord had flown to heaven. There was no <sup>32</sup>other son, who renewed the monuments of his father, which were in the cemetery.

*Seti I's Temple Unfinished, Its Endowments Violated*

**263.** Lo, the house of Menmare (Seti I), its front and its rear were in process of construction, when he entered into heaven. Its monuments were not finished, its columns were not set up on its [*platform*], its statue was upon the ground, it was not <sup>33</sup>fashioned after the regulation for it, of the gold-house. Its divine offerings had ceased, the lay priesthood likewise. That which was brought [*from*] its fields was taken away, their boundaries were not fixed in the land.<sup>e</sup>

*Ramses Summons His Court and Officials*

**264.** Said his majesty to the wearer of the royal seal who was at his side: "Speak thou, call <sup>34</sup>the court, the king's-grandeess, all the commanders of the army, all the chiefs of works, and the keepers of the

house of rolls (books).” They were brought before his majesty, their noses were bowed in the dust, their knees were on the earth <sup>35</sup>in adoration, smelling the earth; their hands were uplifted to his majesty, they praised this Good God, magnifying his beauty in the presence. They told the story according to that which he had done, they likened his brave deeds, as they were; every word which came out of their mouths, was that which the Lord of the Two Lands had actually done. <sup>36</sup>They were upon their bellies, ‘wallowing’ upon the earth before his majesty, saying:

*The Court Eulogizes the King*

265. “We come to thee, lord of heaven, lord of earth, Re, life of the whole earth, lord of duration, of fruitful revolution,<sup>a</sup> Atum for the people, lord of destiny, creator of Rencnet,<sup>b</sup> Khnum <sup>37</sup>who fashioned the people (*rhyt*), giver of breath into the nostrils of all, making all the gods live, pillar of heaven, support of earth, ‘—’ adjusting the Two Lands, lord of food, plentiful in grain, in whose footsteps is the harvest goddess, <sup>38</sup>maker of the great, fashioner of the lowly, whose word produces food, the lord vigilant when all men sleep, whose might defends Egypt, valiant in foreign lands, who returns when he has triumphed, whose sword protects the Egyptians, beloved of truth, in which he lives <sup>39</sup>by his laws, defender of the Two Lands, rich in years, great in victory, the fear of whom expels foreign lands, our king, our lord, our Sun, by the words of whose mouth Atum lives. Lo, we are now before thy majesty, that thou mayest decree to us the life that thou givest, <sup>40</sup>Pharaoh, L. P. H., breath of life, who makes all men live when he has shone on them.”

*Ramses Announces His Intention to Complete His Father's Buildings*

266. Said his majesty to them: “Behold, I have caused that they call you, because of a plan that is before me. I have seen that the buildings of the cemetery, the tombs that are in Abydos, <sup>41</sup>and the works therein, are in an unfinished state, since the time of their lord until this day. When a son arose in the place of his father, the monuments of him that begat him were not restored. Then I conversed with my own heart: ‘It is a happy example, to provide for <sup>42</sup>them that have

passed away, excellent to behold good — — ‘Horus who shaped<sup>1</sup> the thought of the son, that he should incline the heart after his father. My heart leads me in doing excellent things for Merneptah (Seti I). I will cause it to be said forever and ever: “It was his son, who made his name live.”’ May my father, Osiris, <sup>43</sup>favor me with the long life of his son, Horus, according as I do that which [he] did; I do excellent things, as he did excellent things, for him who begat me.”

*Ramses Relates His Appointment as Coregent*

267. “I came forth from Re, [‘although’] ye say, from Menmare (Seti I), who brought me up.<sup>a</sup> <sup>44</sup>The All-Lord himself made me great, while I was a child, until I reigned. He gave to me the land while I was in the egg; the great smelled the earth before me, when I was installed as eldest son, as hereditary prince upon the throne of Keb. I reported <sup>45</sup>— —<sup>b</sup> as lord (*hry-d<sup>2</sup> d<sup>2</sup>*) of infantry and chariotry. When my father appeared to the public, I being a child between his arms. [He] sa[id] concerning me: “Crown him as king, that I may see his beauty while I live <sup>46</sup>with him.” [‘Thereupon approached’] the courtiers (*ymyw-hnty*), to set the double diadem upon my head. “Place for him the crown upon his head,” so spake he concerning me, while he was upon earth. “Let him organize this land, let him administer —, let him show his face to the people,” so spake he <sup>47</sup>— — — — — because the love of me was so great in his bowels.<sup>c</sup> He equipped me with [‘household’] women, a royal harem, like the beauties of the palace, he chose for me wives, after — — — — —, taking the concubines <sup>48</sup>of — — — — — his —, seizing [—]<sup>d</sup> and female companions.”

*Ramses Describes His Administration as Coregent*

268. “Lo, I was Re over the people (*rh'y t*), those of the South and North were under my feet — — — — — it was I, who [‘set’] them to <sup>49</sup>[‘building’] —. I fashioned my father in gold anew, in the first year of my

appearance (as king).<sup>a</sup> I commanded that his temple be prepared, I established his fields ———. I founded for him offerings for his ka. <sup>50</sup>———— wine, incense, all fruit, I cultivated trees, growing for him. Lo, his house was under my charge, all its works were under my authority, since — — — as a child.”

*Ramses Repeats His Intention to Complete His Father's Buildings*

269. “<sup>51</sup>———— my father; I will enlarge them anew. As for the monuments, I will not neglect his seat, after the manner of those children who forgot [their] father. ——— speak of — <sup>52</sup>———— a son doeth excellent things. My mighty deeds for my father as a child, I will now complete, being Lord of the Two Lands; I will [—] in them in the proper way ——— <sup>53</sup>———— I will lay the walls in the temple of him that begat me. I will charge the man of my choice, to conduct this work therein. I will mason up therein the br[eaches] in its walls <sup>54</sup>————, its pylon-towers of — —. I will cover its house, I will [erect] its columns, I will set stones in the places of the lower foundation, making monument upon monument, two excellent things at one time, bearing my name<sup>b</sup> and the name of my father, for the son <sup>55</sup>is like him that begat him.”

*The Court Responds with an Eulogy of the King*

270. Then spake the royal companions, and they answered the Good God: “Thou art Re, thy body is his body. There has been no ruler like thee, (for) thou art unique, like the son of Osiris, thou hast achieved the like of his designs <sup>56</sup>Isis [hath not loved] a king since Re, except thee and her [son]; greater is that which thou hast done than that which he did when he ruled after Osiris. The laws of the land proceed according to his position. The son is compassionate to him that made him, the divine seed — — <sup>57</sup>him who created him [in the] [egg] — it<sup>c</sup> inclines to the august guardian. None hath done that which Horus did for his father to this day, except thy majesty —. Thou

hast increased that which has been done; what <sup>58</sup>example of excellence  
 ——— that we may introduce it, to tell it in the (royal) presence?  
 Who shall come, that he may recall a thing proposed to thee<sup>a</sup>? (but)  
 thou hast led the ignorant abroad ———. ——— mild, thy heart  
 is kindly toward thy father, Menmare (Seti I), <sup>59</sup>the divine father, the  
 beloved of a god, Seti-Merneptah, triumphant. Since the time of the god,  
 since the kings have taken the crown, there has been no other like thee,  
 neither seen in face nor heard in speech. [No other] son has repeated  
 monuments for his father. Not one has arisen, <sup>60</sup>that he might cham-  
 pion his father, (but) every man deals for himself, on behalf of his own  
 name, except thee and Horus, for thou art like the son of Osiris. Behold,  
 thou art a goodly heir like him; as for his kingdom, thou administere<sup>st</sup>  
 it in like manner. <sup>61</sup>As for him who doeth that which the god did, he  
 shall have the length of life which he enjoyed. Re in heaven [is joyous-]  
 hearted, his divine ennead is glad, the gods are satisfied with Egypt  
 since thy coronation as king of the Two Lands. Beautiful ———  
 is thy —, excellent is thy truth, it has reached <sup>62</sup>heaven, thy plans are  
 right in the estimation of Re, Atum is delighted — —, Wennofer is in  
 triumph at that which thy majesty has done for his ka. He says:  
 ‘— — — [I give] to thee the duration of heaven, his two heavens;’  
<sup>63</sup>the gods of the secret place of the lord of the nether world say: ‘Thou  
 shalt be upon earth like Aton.’ Glad is the heart of Merneptah (Seti I),  
 his name shall live again, (for) thou hast fashioned him in gold and  
 real costly stones, ——— his — of electrum <sup>64</sup>——— his —, thou  
 buildest it anew, bearing thy name. As for every king<sup>b</sup> who is in heaven,  
 whose buildings are in course of construction, there has been no son  
 (of theirs) doing what thou hast done, since Re until <sup>65</sup>[this day]. ———  
 Thy majesty — him; that which he did, thou hast remembered, when it  
 was forgotten. Thou hast restored monuments in the cemetery. As for  
 every plan that was neglected, thou hast carried it out in the proper way  
 ——— <sup>66</sup>——— passes away, another comes. Thy majesty is  
 King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt, for thou doest excellent  
 things, and thy heart is satisfied in doing truth. Those things which are  
 done in the presence of the gods, shall be heard ——— <sup>67</sup>———  
 when [thou] rise[st to] heaven, when thy beauty ascends to the horizon,  
 the eyes see thy excellent deeds before gods and men. Thou art the one

who doest it; thou art the one who repeatest monument on monument for the gods, according as thy father, Re, commanded <sup>68</sup>that thy name should be [known] in every land, from Khenthennofer of the South, northward, from the [shores] of the sea to the countries of Retenu (*Rtwn*), and among the settlements and strongholds of the king, the towns colonized and supplied with people<sup>a</sup> <sup>69</sup>———— every city [should know] that thou art the god of all people, that they may awake, to give to thee incense at the command of thy father, Atum; that Egypt as well as the Red Land may adore thee.”

*Ramses Completes and Endows His Father's Temple*

**271.** Now, after <sup>70</sup>—— these utterances which these nobles [had spoken] in the presence of their lord, his majesty commanded to commission the chiefs of works; he set apart soldiers, workmen, carvers with the chisel, <sup>71</sup>—— draughtsmen, all ranks of artificers, to build the holy place of his father, to erect that which was in ruins in the cemetery, the mortuary house of his father. Lo, <sup>72</sup>he [began] to fashion his statue in the year 1;<sup>b</sup> while the offerings were doubled before his ka, his temple was properly victualed, and he supplied his necessities. He established his ritual roll of fields, peasant-slaves (*mry't*) and cattle. <sup>73</sup>He appointed priests over their affairs, a prophet to upraise the hands — — — his people under — — — to conduct affairs — — under him; his numerous granaries with grain <sup>74</sup>———— his possessions. The great officials in South and North are under the authority of his steward, being an act of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re, Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life, like Re, forever and ever, for his father, King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant, <sup>75</sup>—— — — [under] the authority of Wennofer. He did it again for his ka in Thebes,<sup>c</sup> Heliopolis, and Memphis<sup>d</sup> (where) his statues rested in their places in all his [stations]<sup>e</sup> of the [—].



*Ramses Addresses His Father, Narrating His Good Deeds to Him*

272. Then spake the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II,<sup>a</sup> given life, <sup>76</sup>sending up<sup>b</sup> that which he had done for his father, the Osiris, King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant; saying: "Awake thou, (lift) thy face to heaven, that thou mayest see Re, O my father, Merneptah (Seti I), who art a god. Behold, I am making thy name to live, I have protected thee, I give attention to thy temple, <sup>77</sup>thy offerings are established. Thou retest in the Nether World (*Dw ʿt*), like Osiris, while I shine as Re for the people, being upon the great throne of Atum, like Horus, son of Isis, who protected his father. <sup>78</sup>How [happy] for thee, who begattest me — — since thou comest as one living again. I have fashioned thee, I have built the house thou lovest, wherein is thy statue in the cemetery of Abydos, region of eternity. I have founded offerings <sup>79</sup>[for] thy s[statues], the daily offerings come to thee. [I] am he that doeth that which is lacking to thee; I do it for thee, every desire of thy heart, the excellent thing in thy name. I assess for thee the [officials] (*m ʿ dy w*) <sup>80</sup>— — works for thy ka, in order to offer<sup>c</sup> for thee upon the ground, with bread and drink. I have come myself, myself (sic!), in order to see thy temple beside Wennofer, sovereign of eternity. I have [finished] the work in it, I have laid out the [ground], <sup>81</sup>I — that which thou desirest, making thy every house wherein I have established thy name forever. [I] am he that doeth according to truth, that it (truth) may flourish."

273. "I have given to thee the Southerners, offering gifts to thy temple, and the Northerners, <sup>82</sup>(bringing) their tribute before thy beautiful face. I have collected all them that owe thee dues, united in one body, under the administration of the prophet of thy temple, in order to make thy property a permanent whole,<sup>d</sup> to be brought <sup>83</sup>[to] thy temple [—] forever."

274. "I made splendid thy treasury, filled with possessions, the heart's desire, which I have given to thee, together with thy dues. I have given to thee a ship (*mnš*), bearing cargoes upon the sea, conveying to thee <sup>84</sup>the great [marvels] of God's-Land, and the merchants doing merchandising, bearing their wares and their impost therefrom in gold, silver, and copper."

275. "I have made for thee calculations of the fields, which had been only verbal <sup>85</sup>—— on high [land], calculated in fields. I equipped them with inspectors, together with husbandmen, to produce clean grain for thy divine offerings. I have given to thee barges with crews, and artisans hewing <sup>86</sup>— without ceasing to sail to thy temple."

276. "I have formed for thee herds of all small cattle, faithfully to supply thy offerings. I levied for thee wild fowl from the 'inclosed' marsh; others <sup>87</sup>— — live geese for maintaining those that were hatched. I put fishermen on the waters, on every pool, in order to furnish for thee imposts by the shipload."

277. "I equipped thy temple with every office <sup>88</sup>— — of my majesty. Thy lay priesthood of the temple has its full complement of heads.<sup>a</sup> The peasant-slaves are assessed for woven stuff, for thy wardrobe, and (as for) thy serfs of the fields of every district, every man brings <sup>89</sup>their (sic!) impost, to fill thy house."

278. "Lo, thou hast entered into heaven, thou followest Re, thou minglest with stars and moon. Thou restest in the nether world, like those who are therein, beside Wennofer, lord of eternity; <sup>90</sup>thy two [arms] draw Atum in heaven and in earth, like the unresting stars and the imperishable<sup>b</sup> stars, while thou art on the prow of the barque of myriads of years. When Re rises in heaven, thy two eyes are upon his beauty; <sup>91</sup>when Atum [enters]<sup>c</sup> into the earth, thou art among his followers. Thou hast entered into the hidden chamber before its lord; thy going is afar in the midst of the Nether World; thou hast associated thyself with the mortuary gods. Lo, <sup>92</sup>[I] pray for the breath of thy august nostrils. I mention thy name many times daily, I — my father [— —] — — — <sup>93</sup>— I tell of thy valor, when I am in a foreign country.<sup>d</sup> I lay down for thee gifts, my hand bears offerings for thy name, for thy — in thy every place."

*Ramses Prays His Father to Intercede in His Behalf*

279. "Mayest thou speak to Re — — — — 94— life to his son, Wennofer, with a loving heart. Grant lifetime upon lifetime, united in jubilees for Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), given life. It will be well for thee, that I should be king forever, 95(for) thou wilt be — by a good son, who remembers his father; (for) I will take counsel for thy temple, every day, and for the affairs of thy ka, in every matter. If I hear of any damage 96about to happen, I will command to remove it instantly in every matter. Thou shalt be as if thou livedst, while I reign. I shall look to thy house every day. 97— I have —, my heart shall incline after thee, I shall champion thee and thy name, while thou art in the nether world. Excellent indeed shall it be for thee, while I am; while Ramses, given life, like Re, forever, 98[the son] of Re, lives."

*The Deceased Seti I Replies to His Son's Prayer*

280. Then was King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant (*m<sup>2</sup> c -hrw*), an excellent soul (*b<sup>2</sup>*), like Osiris, rejoicing over all that which his son, the doer of excellent things, King 99Ramses II,<sup>a</sup> had done, and praising all his beauty, to Re-Harakhte, and to the gods who are in the nether world, while he spoke in [—] 100as a father on earth speaks with his son, saying:

281. "Let thy heart be very glad, O my beloved son, Usermare-Setepnere, given life, in — — — giving to thee [myriads] of years, eternity upon the Horus-throne 101of the living. Osiris has besought for thee the duration of heaven, wherein thou risest like Re at early morning. Life and prosperity shall be with thee, — truth, might, and joy of heart, for him who is rich in years. 102Thine shall be might and victory, O thou great in victory; health shall be for thy limbs like (those of) Re in heaven. Joy and rejoicing shall be in thy every abode, O king, defending Egypt, binding the barbarians, spending the eternity 103of thy lifetime as King of Upper Egypt, and as King of Lower Egypt, as Atum flourishes at rising and setting. Behold, I say to Re<sup>b</sup> with a

loving heart: 'Grant to him<sup>a</sup> eternity upon earth <sup>104</sup>like Khepri.' I have repeated to Osiris when I entered before him: 'Double thou for him the duration of thy son, Horus.' Behold, Re said in the horizon of heaven: 'Grant eternity, everlastingness, myriads of years <sup>105</sup>of royal jubilees for the son of his body, the beloved Meriamon-Ramses, given life, doer of excellent things.' Atum has decreed to thee his duration as king. Might and victory shall be united <sup>106</sup>behind thee. Thoth writes them at the side of the All-Lord, and the Great Ennead say: 'Re, in his barque, lord of the morning-barque, collects them for him; his eye sees <sup>107</sup>that which thou hast so excellently done. When he sails the heavens with the wind every day, great joy is behind him, because he remembers thy beauty; until Atum <sup>108</sup>sets in the land of the West, thy love is in his body every day.' Behold, Wennofer is lord of triumph (*m<sup>2</sup>c-hrw*) through that which thy majesty has done in the place of truth. I [Horus]<sup>b</sup> awake him at the reminder of thy goodness; my heart hath joy indeed, because of the eternity which he has decreed for thee. Behold, I have received the things which thou hast given to me: my bread and my water with gladness of heart, breath <sup>110</sup>[reaches my, nostrils, because of the deeds of a son, whose heart chooses to protect, free from negligence, knowing that which is seemly. 'Thou hast repeated monument on monument for Osiris under my authority in the presence <sup>111</sup>— — [in] the midst of Abydos (*N/w-wr*). I am magnified because of all that which thou hast done for me; I am placed at the head of the abode of the dead, I am transformed, I have become a god more <sup>112</sup>beautiful than before, since thy heart has inclined to me, while I am in the nether world. I am thy true father, who am a god; I have mingled with the gods, following Aton; I <sup>113</sup>[know] him who dwells in the barque — — like one in — — — who is in — — —. <sup>114</sup>He [remem]bers thy beauty — — —. Behold, thou hast a long life, Re has decreed to thee — — —, forever, like — — —. Thou art the living — of Atum, thy every word <sup>115</sup>comes to pass like (that of) the All-Lord. Thou art the favorite egg of Khepri, the water of a god [which came forth] from him. What thou begetteth is that which Re himself has made; he said to thee: '— — — 'as the maker of' — — — <sup>116</sup>a guar-

dian, thou comest as living Re to the people; the Southland and Northland [are beneath] thy feet, beseeching myriads of royal jubilees for Usermare-Setepnere, the duration of the All-Lord, when [he] rises

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### KUBBÂN STELA<sup>a</sup>

282. This document records the attempt of Ramses II to supply with water the desert road leading from the Nile at Kubbân to the gold-bearing regions on the east in the great Wadi 'Alâki.<sup>b</sup> It is similar to the records of like attempts by Seti I at Redesiyeh (§§ 162-98), with which it should be compared. Seti I, indeed, had made a futile attempt to find water on this same road, having dug a well there 200 feet deep, as our document informs us (l. 21). In spite of this fact, Ramses makes another attempt, and sends out the viceroy of Kush for the purpose. He presently reports success at a depth of only 20 feet.

283. A statement in the ceremonious address of the court (ll. 13-19) has always been regarded as of great historical importance. It affirms that Ramses had held important official positions in the land since he was a lad in the tenth year of his age (l. 17). But this statement, we should remember, is found in the midst of a fulsome eulogy abounding

in the most absurd exaggerations. It is probable, in view of these statements, however, that Ramses early developed administrative ability, which he was given opportunity to exercise while still very young. This was doubtless a privilege granted to many princes of the royal house; it does not indicate that Ramses came to the throne while a child, nor do the courtiers here make any such claim,<sup>a</sup> though their words have been so misunderstood.<sup>b</sup>

284. A relief above the inscription shows Ramses II offering incense to "*Horus, lord of Bek (B<sup>3</sup> k),*" and "*wine to Min residing in the mountain,*" resulting in the usual promises from the god. Then follows below the long inscription:

### *Introduction*

285. <sup>1</sup>Year 3, first month of the second season, day 4, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Truth; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Defender of Egypt, Binder of the Barbarians; Golden Horus: Rich in years, Great in Victory; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re: Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and presider over Karnak; <sup>2</sup>shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Re, every day; Good God, lord of the Southland, Horus of Edfu, of brilliant plumage, beautiful hawk of electrum. He protects Egypt with his wing, making shade for the people, as a wall of might and victory. When he went forth <sup>3</sup>from the body,<sup>c</sup> he was (already) terrible for capture, while his might was extending his boundaries; color was given to his limbs like the might of Montu. (He is) the double lord,<sup>d</sup> on the day of whose birth there was exultation in heaven; the gods said: "Our seed is in him." "The goddesses said: "He hath come forth from us to exercise the kingship of Re." Amon

said: "I am Irsu,<sup>a</sup> I have put justice into its place." The earth is established, heaven is satisfied, the divine ennead is content with his qualities, the Bull, mighty against Kush the wretched, smiting <sup>5</sup>the rebels<sup>b</sup> as far as the land of the Negro. His hoofs trample the Trog-lodytes, his horn gores into them; his fame is mighty in Khenthen-nofer; as for his terror, it has reached Karoy (*K* <sup>2</sup> *ry*). His name circulates among <sup>6</sup>all lands, because of the victories which his two hands have wrought. Gold comes forth from the mountain at his name,<sup>c</sup> like (that of) his father, Horus, lord of Bek (*B* <sup>2</sup> *-k* <sup>2</sup>),<sup>d</sup> great in love in the southern countries, like Horus in the land of Miam (*M* *y* <sup>c</sup> *m* <sup>2</sup> *m*),<sup>e</sup> lord of Bohen (*Bwhn*); the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-mare-Setepnere; <sup>7</sup>Son of Re, of his body, Lord of Diadems: Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day.

*Investigation of the Land of Akita*

286. Now, when his majesty was in Memphis, performing the pleasing ceremonies of his fathers, all the gods of South and North, according as they gave to him might and victory, and long life of myriads <sup>8</sup>of years; on one of these days it came to pass that, lo, his majesty was sitting upon a great throne of electrum, diademed with the double-feathered crown, recounting the countries, from which gold is brought, and devising plans for digging <sup>9</sup>wells on a road lacking in water, after hearing said that there was much gold in the country of Akita (*ʿ-k* <sup>2</sup> *-y-t* <sup>2</sup>), whereas the road thereof was very lacking in water. If a few of <sup>10</sup>the caravanners of the gold-washing went thither, it was only half of them that arrived there, (for) they died of thirst on the road, together with the asses which they drove before them. There was not found for them their necessary supply of <sup>11</sup>drink, in ascending and descending, from the water of the skins.<sup>f</sup> Hence no gold was brought from this country for lack of water.

*Court is Summoned*

287. Said his majesty to the wearer of the royal seal, who was at his side: "Call the princes of the court, <sup>12</sup>his majesty would counsel with them concerning this country, (how) I may take the necessary measures." They were immediately brought before the Good God, their hands uplifted to his ka, acclaiming and smelling the earth before his beautiful face. One (=the king) told them the character of this country, counseling <sup>13</sup>with them concerning the plan of opening a well upon the road thereof.

*Address of the Court*

288. They said before his majesty: "Thou art like Re in all that thou doest; that which thy heart wishes comes to pass. If thou desirest a matter in the night, in the morning it quickly comes to pass. We have been <sup>14</sup>beholding a multitude of thy marvels, since thy appearance as king of the Two Lands; we have not heard, neither have our eyes seen,<sup>a</sup> (yet) do they come to pass as they are.<sup>a</sup> As for everything that comes out of thy mouth, it is like the words of Harakhte. Thy tongue is a pair of balances, more accurate are thy two lips <sup>15</sup>than the correct weight of 'Thoth. What is that which thou knowest not? Who is the finisher of it like thee? Where<sup>b</sup> is the place, which thou hast not seen? There is no country which thou hast not trodden. All matters pass through thy ears, <sup>16</sup>since thou hast exercised authority over this land. Thou didst make plans while thou wast (still) in the egg, in thy office of child of a prince.<sup>c</sup> The affairs of the Two Lands were told thee, while thou wert a child wearing the curl;<sup>d</sup> no monument was executed, which was not under thy authority; <sup>17</sup>there was no commission without thy knowledge. Thou wast chief<sup>e</sup> of the army while thou wast

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a boy of the tenth year. Every work that was carried out, it was thy hand which made the foundation thereof. If thou sayest to the water: 'Come upon the mountain,' the flood comes forth <sup>18</sup>quickly after thy word, for thou art Re in limbs, and Khepri with his true form. Thou art the living image on earth of thy father, Atum of Heliopolis. Taste is in thy mouth, intelligence<sup>a</sup> in thy heart; the seat of thy tongue is the shrine of truth, the god sits upon thy two lips.<sup>b</sup> Thy words come to pass every day, <sup>19</sup>thy heart is made into the likeness of (that of) Ptah, the creator of handicrafts.<sup>c</sup> Thou art forever, it shall be done by thy plans, all that thou sayest is heard, O Sovereign, our lord."

*Statement of the Viceroy of Kush*

289. "As for the country of Akita, this is said concerning it," said the king's-son of Kush the wretched, <sup>20</sup>concerning it before his majesty, "that it has been in this manner lacking in water, since the time of the god. They die therein of thirst, and every earlier king desired to open a well therein, but did not succeed.<sup>d</sup> <sup>21</sup>King Menmare (Seti I) did the like, and caused to be dug a well of 120 cubits<sup>e</sup> depth in his time. It is (however), forsaken on the road, (for) no water came out of it. (But) if thou thyself say to thy father Hapi,<sup>f</sup> <sup>22</sup>the father of the gods: 'Let water be brought upon the mountain,' he will do according to all that thou hast said, like all thy designs, which come to pass before us, (although) they have not been heard in conversation; because thy fathers, all the gods love thee, more than any king, <sup>23</sup>who has been since Re."

*Ramses Determines to Dig a Well in Akita*

290. Said his majesty to these princes: "How true is all that which ye have said [—], that no water has been dug in this country since the time of the god, as ye say. (But) I will open a well there, [furnishing] water every day as in <sup>24</sup>[the valley of] the Nile, at command of my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and all the gods of Nubia, according as their heart is satisfied with the things desired. I will cause it to be said in the land — — — <sup>25</sup>— —."

291. [Then these princes] praised their lord, smelling the ground, throwing themselves upon their bellies in the presence, exulting to the height of heaven.

Said his majesty to the chief king's-scribe —: "<sup>26</sup>——— of the road to Akita. Let a month become a day,<sup>a</sup> when [thou] sendest <sup>27</sup>———." [Then the chief king's-scribe communicated to the king's-son of Kush]<sup>b</sup> according as it had been commissioned him. Lo, he mustered the people for <sup>28</sup>[digging the well] ———. [But they said: "What] then is it which the king's-son shall do? Shall the water <sup>29</sup>[which is in the nether world hearken to him?]"<sup>c</sup> Then they dug the well on] the road to the country of Akita. Never was done the like since the kings who were aforetime <sup>30</sup>———<sup>d</sup> he puts fish in the pools of the regions of [—] of the Delta marshes, pleasing his heart in creating <sup>31</sup>——— like a rudder in the wind.<sup>e</sup>

*A Letter Announcing Success from the Viceroy of Kush*

292. One came, bearing a letter from the king's-son of Kush the wretched, saying: <sup>32</sup>"——— [The] well [is finished]; that which thy majesty spake with his own mouth has come to pass; the water has come forth from it<sup>f</sup> at 12 cubits, being 4 cubits therein in depth. <sup>33</sup>——— it outside, as a god does, in satisfying the heart with that

which thou desirest. Never was done <sup>34</sup>[the like since the time of the god] ——— Akita rejoices with great joy, those who are far away <sup>35</sup>——— the ruler. The water which is in the nether world hearkens to him, when he digs water upon the mountain <sup>36</sup>———.”

### *Conclusion*

293. ——— to him from the king's-son, announcing that which he had done. They were glad because of<sup>a</sup> [it] — <sup>37</sup>——— excellent in plans, good in [— — —]. <sup>38</sup>[His majesty ordered to call the name of] this [we]ll: “The-Well-of-Meriamon-Ramses-Mighty-[in-Victory].”

## THE ASIATIC WAR

294. Ramses II, with his two predecessors, inherited a very dangerous situation in Syria. Seti I had not succeeded in relieving that situation, and upon Ramses II fell the critical task of confronting and checking the southward advance of the Hittites, in their process of absorbing the Egyptian conquests in Syria. They were the most powerful people which Egypt had ever met, and the conflict lasted nearly twenty years, during which we may discern three periods. In the first of these we find Ramses, after having pushed his Phœnician boundary northward to Beyrut, marching down the Orontes against the Hittites at Kadesh. The remarkable battle which followed was without beneficial result. The second period finds Ramses battling for the recovery of Palestine, where there had arisen a general revolt, undoubtedly incited by the Hittites. This revolt suppressed, the third period finds him again in the Hittite country, conquering Naharin as far north as Tunip, where his progress was such that the Hittites were willing to resign all projects of further conquest in Syria and negotiate a

permanent compact in a treaty, in arranging which no mention of the boundary<sup>a</sup> adopted is made.

295. The materials for the three periods are very scanty, except for the battle of Kadesh and the treaty. These materials are as follows:<sup>b</sup>

#### I. Beginning of the Hittite War.

1. First campaign: three illegible stelæ on the Nahr-el-Kelb near Beirut (§ 297).

2. Second campaign, battle of Kadesh:

a) Poem on the battle of Kadesh (§§ 305-15).

b) Official record of the battle of Kadesh (§§ 316-27).

c) Reliefs of the battle of Kadesh (§§ 328-51).

#### II. Palestinian revolt.

1. Reconquest of southern Palestine: a relief at Karnak showing the storming of Askalon (§§ 353-55).

2. Reconquest of northern Palestine: a short list of towns taken in the eighth year (§ 356); a relief at the Ramesseum, of the storming of Deper (§§ 356-62); a relief in the Hauran (§ 358).

#### III. Close of the Hittite War.

1. Conquest of Naharin: a small fragment at the Ramesseum, from an inscription describing the capture of Tunip (§§ 363-65); two short lists of conquered countries (§ 366).

2. Treaty with the Hittites: entire text of the document (§§ 367-91).

### I. BEGINNING OF THE HITTITE WAR

296. Like his great predecessors, Seti I and Thutmose III, Ramses II began his operations for the conquest of northern Syria by first securing the coast and then moving against

the interior, where for the first time he comes into contact with the Hittites.

### I. FIRST CAMPAIGN

297. Ramses II's first campaign was directed along the Phœnician coast, and extended as far as Beyrut, near which he erected a stela on the Nahr el-Kelb (Dog River) in his fourth year. Another stela, dated "*year 2*"<sup>a</sup> is called uncertain by Lepsius,<sup>b</sup> and is probably to be read "*year 10*;" for the first<sup>c</sup> is clearly 4; and there was but one campaign before that of the "*year 5*,"<sup>d</sup> against Kadesh. A third stela is without date. These stelæ<sup>e</sup> are so weathered that the records of the campaigns which they doubtless contained, are most totally illegible.<sup>f</sup> The location of the stela near the northern boundary of the conquests of Ramses' father, Seti I, is significant. They of course mark the advance boundary of Ramses II's northern conquests.

### II. SECOND CAMPAIGN: THE BATTLE OF KADESH<sup>g</sup>

298. This battle, in which Ramses meets the Hittites for the first time, forms the culmination of Ramses II's second

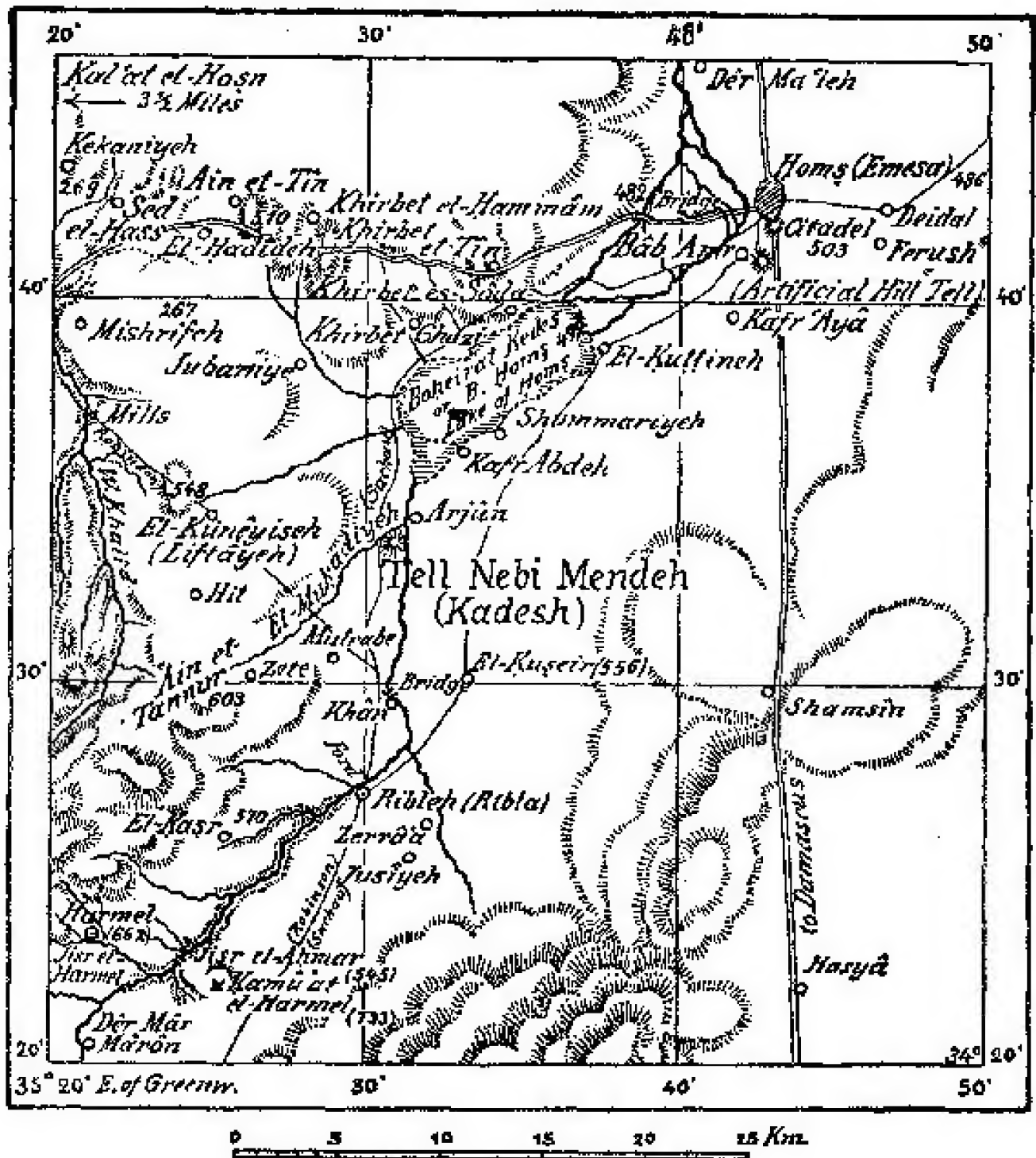


FIG. 7.—Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh, 1:500,000 (after Blanckenhorn)

Syrian campaign, and furnishes nearly all we know of the beginning of his Syrian war. It is of especial interest, being the first battle in history of which we may follow the tactics and the disposition of both armies.<sup>a</sup> About the end of

April, Ramses marched northward from the fortress of Tharu on the Egyptian frontier, with an army of probably about 20,000 men, in four divisions: the division of Amon, which formed the advance, under the immediate command of the Pharaoh; and the divisions<sup>a</sup> of Re, of Ptah, and of Sutekh, which followed that of Amon in the order given. Marching through Palestine,<sup>b</sup> and along the Phoenician coast road, Ramses passed into Amor, where he formed his van of picked men, on the "*shore in the land of Amor*" (Poem, l. 18). Thereupon he left the coast, perhaps marching up the valley of the Litâny, and reached the last elevation on the east side of the Orontes, where the high valley (the Bukâ<sup>c</sup> a) drops to the level of the plain around Kadesh, about a day's march south of it.<sup>c</sup> Here he camped (Poem, ll. 11, 12; Record, l. 2), without finding trace of the enemy. He therefore pushed on the next day, and as he reached the ford just south of Shabtuna, later Ribleh,<sup>d</sup> a small town, some seven and a half miles south of Kadesh, he was informed by two Shasu-Bedwin, sent out by the Hittite king for this purpose, that the Asiatics had retreated far northward to the district of Aleppo, beyond Tunip (Record, ll. 2-6). With the division of Amon, therefore, Ramses crossed to the west side of the Orontes at Shabtuna (Poem, l. 12), leaving the other three divisions on the east side, dis-

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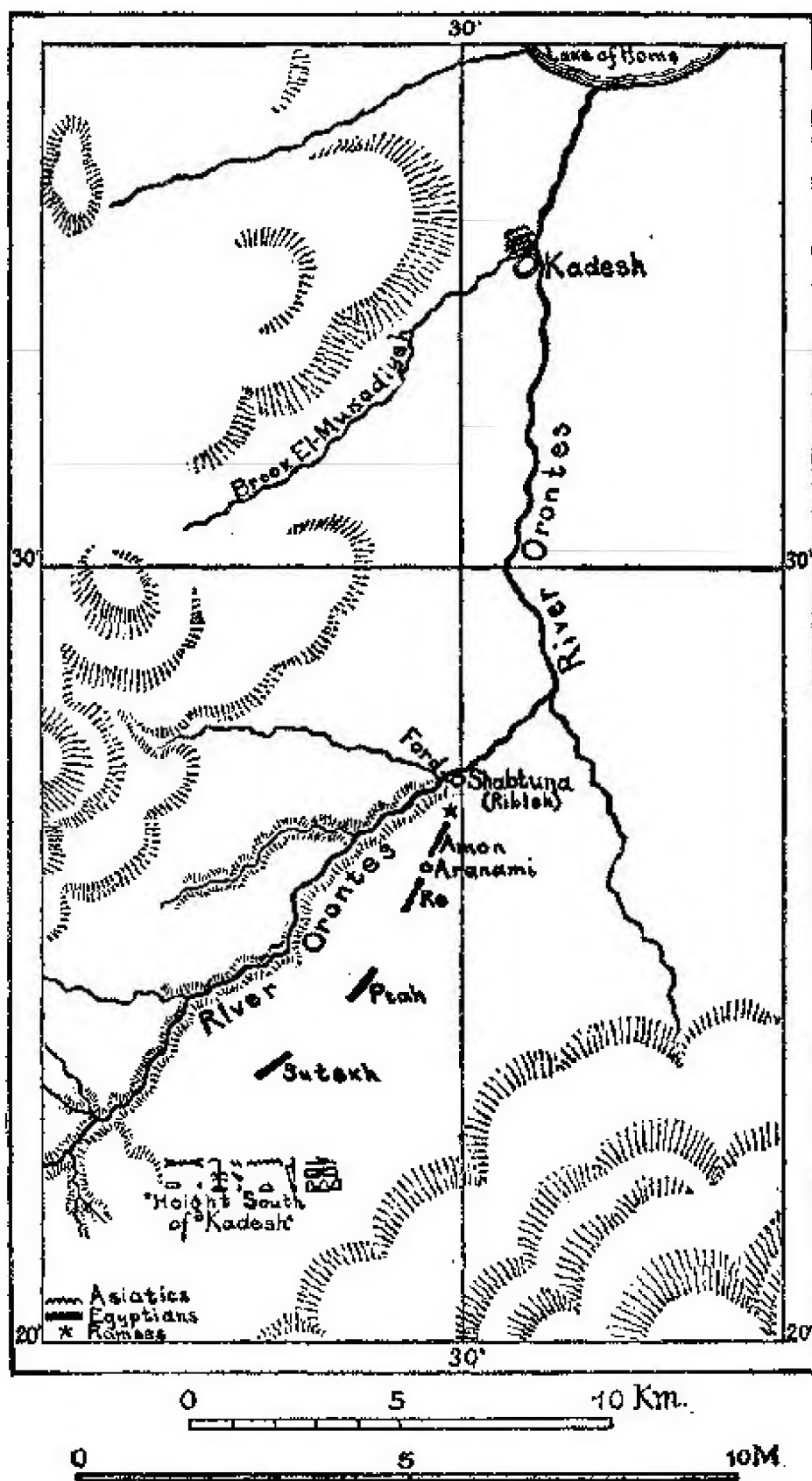


FIG. 8.—March to Kadesh. First Positions



tributed along the road to the south. The division of Re, however, soon crossed at the same ford, with about a mile and a half between its van and the rear of the division of Amon<sup>a</sup> (Fig. 9). With these two divisions following him in a long line, Ramses continued rapidly northward, leaving the other two (Ptah and Sutekh) marching slowly south of Shabtuna, till there was a wide gap between the two halves of his army.

299. Meanwhile the Asiatics (Poem, l. 17), with an army of probably 20,000 men, the combined forces of the north Syrian princes, under the Hittite king, together with a large proportion of mercenaries from states in Asia Minor, adjacent or subject to the Hittites<sup>b</sup>—all these were concealed on the northwest of Kadesh, hidden from the Egyptians by the city. The Hittite king now uses the city to mask his movements, and as Ramses pushes northward on the west side of Kadesh, the Hittite commander shifts his position rapidly eastward and southward,<sup>c</sup> all the time keeping the

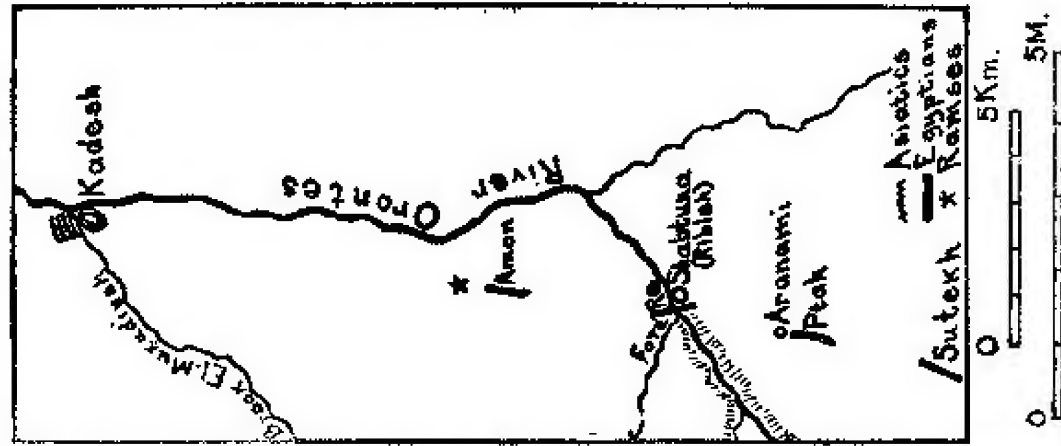


FIG. 9.—Second Positions

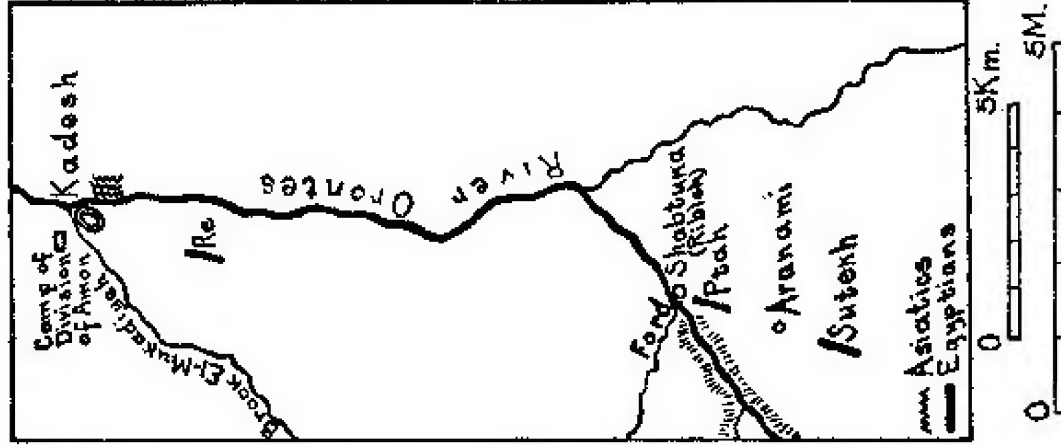


FIG. 10.—Third Positions

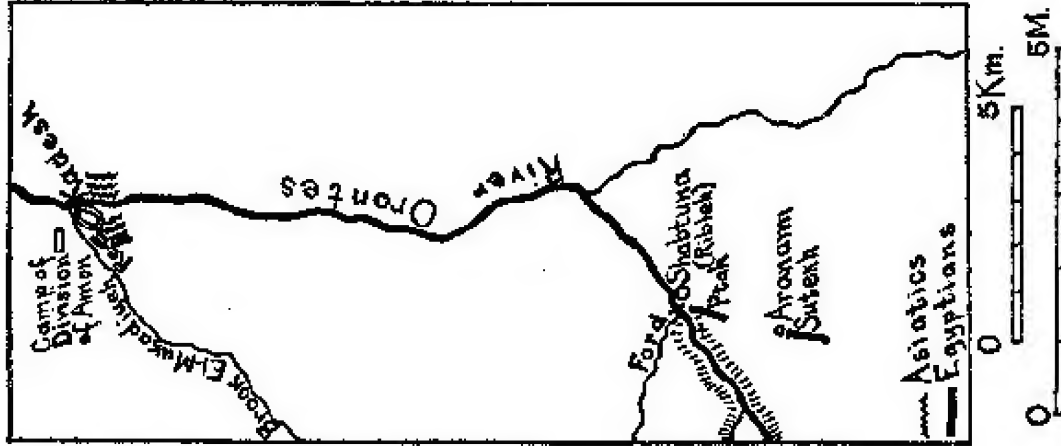


FIG. 11.—Fourth Positions

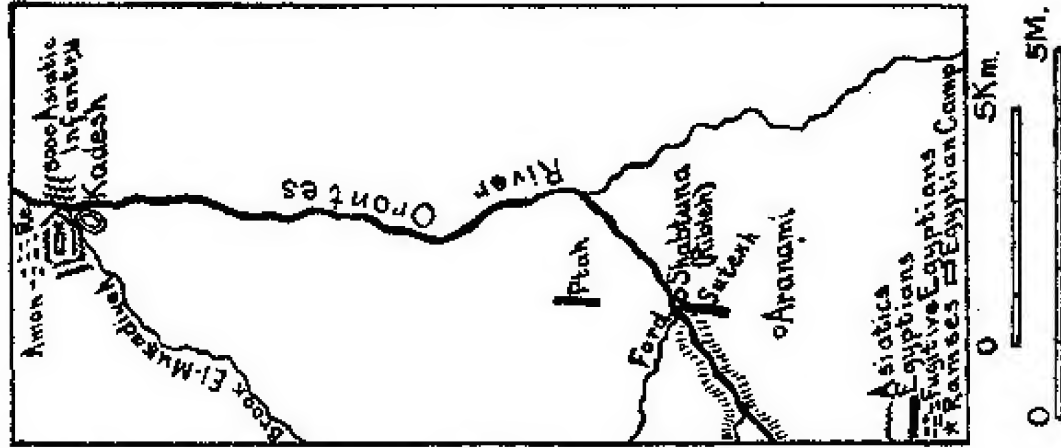


FIG. 12.—Fifth Positions

city between him and the advance of the Egyptians. To do this, he was obliged to transfer his army across the Orontes. Ramses, now quite unsuspecting, advances alone with only his household troops, and deliberately goes into camp northwest of the city (Poem, ll. 12 and 21; Record, ll. 7, 8; Reliefs, § 336, ll. 3, 4; Fig. 10). Thus the Asiatics, with a strong fortress on their right for refuge in case of defeat, by their remarkably skilful maneuvering, have gained a position on Ramses' right flank, which, properly utilized, means his destruction.

300. As the division of Amon comes up and is settling in camp around the tent of Ramses (Reliefs, § 331), an Egyptian scout brings in two of the enemy's scouts, who are beaten (Reliefs, § 330) into confessing the proximity of the foe (Record, § 321). Thoroughly alarmed, Ramses commands the vizier to order up the troops from the south of Shabtuna (§ 324), and the vizier, besides sending a horseman to hasten them, probably goes also himself in a chariot (Record, § 324; Reliefs, §§ 333 f.). Meanwhile the threatening catastrophe becomes a fact: remaining with his infantry, the king of the Hittites sends his chariotry (Poem, ll. 18, 19) to the attack; they "*came forth from the southern side of Kadesh, and they cut through the division of Re in its middle, while they were marching, without knowing, and without being drawn up for battle*" (Poem, § 311). Totally unprepared, caught thus in marching order, the Egyptians fled northward<sup>a</sup> toward Ramses' camp (Record, l. 21), while a messenger was sent to acquaint him with the disaster. But

the Hittite chariotry, which made the attack, pressed the retreating Egyptians northward so rapidly that, while Ramses was sitting in his tent chiding his officers for their ignorance of the enemy's whereabouts, some members of the royal family were driven in headlong flight over the western barricade into the camp by the most advanced of the Hittite chariots (Record, ll. 19, 20; Reliefs, § 332, *a*, *b*). These first hostile intruders were dragged from their chariots by the Egyptian foot in the camp and slain.<sup>a</sup> The fleeing troops of the division of Re<sup>b</sup> now arrive and sweep the camping division of Amon into panic and flight, while the advancing Hittite chariotry rapidly enfold Ramses between their extended wings (Poem, l. 23; Record, l. 22; Reliefs, § 336, *a*, ll. 7, 8, and scene),<sup>c</sup> being 2,500 in number, and representing a force of 7,500 men. Ramses, having with him only his bodyguard,<sup>d</sup> now saw the extended wings of the enemy close completely around him on four sides, seeming like four bodies of chariotry<sup>e</sup> (Poem, l. 23; Record, ll. 21, 22; Reliefs, § 336, *a*, l. 8). For the moment, he is thus isolated, even from the troops which had accompanied him to the north of Kadesh.

301. On the west side, where the royal fugitives have just

been driven in, the enemy is already pressing into the camp. On the east the enfolding wing of the enemy is evidently weakest. Ramses did not hesitate an instant, but immediately rallied his household troops and charged into the invaders of his camp, in the endeavor to cut his way out, to rejoin his southern divisions. This unexpected onset gained him a moment's respite, during which he perceived how the enemy was massed against him on the south, and he therefore turned against the enemy's thin line on their extreme right, before they should have time to strengthen it after their rapid advance northward. He charged eastward into the scanty opposing line of chariots so impetuously that he drove them into the Orontes north of the city.<sup>a</sup> In so doing he forsook his camp, which immediately fell into the hands of the enemy. It is unquestionably the rich plunder in Ramses' camp which diverts the Hittites for the moment and saves Ramses from being pushed into the river in his turn.

302. A body of troops, which it is difficult to connect with any of Ramses' four divisions, now unexpectedly arrives and begins his rescue. They are called "*recruits* (*n<sup>c</sup> ryn*), and are said to arrive from Amor.<sup>b</sup> They enter the camp and slay the plundering Hittites to the last man (§ 340).

The fleeing troops of Ramses now rallied, and together with the "*recruits*" just mentioned, the Egyptian force engaged was no longer a mere handful.

303. It is apparently at the head of these forces that Ramses now charges six times into the mass of the Hittite chariotry that lies between him and the reinforcements approaching from the south, and brings the enemy to a stand.<sup>a</sup> The Hittite king now sent in an additional thousand chariots from his reserves.<sup>a</sup> Ramses has maintained himself for some three hours and at this juncture, while he is holding his own against fearful odds, the vizier arrives with the division of Ptah, and coming in from the south, quite unexpectedly strikes the Asiatics in the rear.<sup>b</sup> After Ramses' stubborn stand this unforeseen blow in the rear quickly decides the contest, and the Hittite chariotry breaks and flees into the city. Caught between the closing lines of the Egyptians, some of them were taken prisoners and many slain;<sup>c</sup> and the Hittite king was forced to see the day, begun so auspiciously for him, now lost, without being able to throw in against the Egyptian chariots the 8,000 or 9,000 foot which for some reason he held in reserve to the end on the other shore.<sup>d</sup>

304. Whether Ramses attempted an assault upon this Asiatic infantry or not, is a question upon which our documents throw no light. The poem claims that there was another battle on the next day, which is extremely doubtful.<sup>e</sup> In any case, it is clear that Kadesh is not taken,<sup>f</sup> and Ramses,

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happy in his remarkable escape from destruction, and proud of the personal reputation gained, having won the battle with but a portion<sup>a</sup> of his army, is glad to return to Egypt for a time, where he offers his prisoners to Amon.<sup>b</sup> But Syria as far south as Kadesh, if not farther, remains in the hands of the Hittites.

*a. Poem on the Battle of Kadesh<sup>c</sup>*

305. This poem, long called the "Poem of Pentaur," is our most important document for a study of the battle of Kadesh. It is, fortunately for us, introduced by a sober and careful prose account of Ramses' departure from Egypt, his march to Kadesh, and the position of his four divisions up to the moment of the Asiatic attack. Supplemented by the

official record of the battle (§§ 316 ff.), we are able to trace in it all Ramses' movements, immediately before and leading up to the battle.

The discussion of the poem as a literary composition does not fall within the scope of this volume.<sup>a</sup>

### *Introduction*

**306.** <sup>1b</sup>Beginning of the victory of King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), [who is given life], forever, which he achieved in the land of Kheta (*Ht* <sup>2</sup>) and Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), in the land of Arvad (*Y-r* <sup>2</sup> - *tw*),<sup>c</sup> in Pedes (*Py-d* <sup>2</sup> - *s* <sup>2</sup>), in the Derden (*D* <sup>2</sup> - *r-d-ny*), in the land of <sup>2</sup>Mesa (*M* <sup>2</sup> - *s* <sup>2</sup>), in the land of Kelekesh (*[K]* <sup>2</sup> - *r* <sup>2</sup> - *[k]y-š* <sup>2</sup> <sup>c</sup>, sic!), —, Carchemish (*K-[r]* <sup>2</sup> - *k-my-š* <sup>2</sup>), Kode (*Kd* *y*), the land of Kadesh (*Kdš*), in the land of Ekereth (*?* - *k* <sup>2</sup> - *r* <sup>2</sup> - *l*), and Mesheneth (*Mw-š* <sup>2</sup> - *n-l*).  
<sup>3</sup>. . . . . <sup>8</sup>. . . . . <sup>d</sup>

### *Preparations and March to the Frontier at Tharu*

**307.** Behold, his majesty prepared his infantry and his chariotry, the Sherden<sup>e</sup> (*Š* <sup>2</sup> - *r* <sup>2</sup> - *dy-n* <sup>2</sup>) of the captivity of his majesty from the



victories of his sword 1 — — 1 9 —————<sup>a</sup> they gave the plan<sup>b</sup> of battle. His majesty proceeded northward, his infantry and his chariotry being with him. He began<sup>c</sup> the goodly way, to march. Year 5, the second month of the third season (tenth month), on the ninth day,<sup>d</sup> his majesty passed the fortress of Tharu (*T 3 -rw*) 10 —————<sup>e</sup> [like] Montu when he goes forth. Every country trembled before him, [fear<sup>f</sup>] was in their hearts; all the [rebels<sup>g</sup>] came bowing down for fear of the fame of his majesty, when his [army] came 11 upon the [narrow<sup>h</sup>] road, being like one who is upon the highway of —.

*March from Tharu to the Region of Kadesh*

308. Now, after many<sup>s</sup> days after this, behold, his majesty was in "Usermare-Meriamon,"<sup>h</sup> L. P. H., the city of ———<sup>i</sup> cedar. His majesty proceeded northward, and he then 12 arrived at the high-land<sup>j</sup> of Kadesh (*Kdš*). Then his majesty, L. P. H., marched before, like his father, Montu lord of Thebes, and crossed over the channel

of the Orontes<sup>a</sup> (ʿ-r-n-t), there being with him the first division of Amon<sup>b</sup> (named): "Victory-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere-L.-P.-H."

*The Coalition of the Prince of Kheta*

309. When his majesty, L. P. H., reached the city,<sup>c</sup> behold, <sup>13</sup>the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta (Ht<sup>2</sup>) had come, having gathered together all countries from the ends of the sea to the land of Kheta, which came entire: the Naharin (N-k-ry-n) likewise, and Arvad (ʿ-r<sup>2</sup>-t-w), <sup>14</sup>—, <sup>d</sup>Mesa (M<sup>2</sup>-s-w), Keshkesh (Kš-kš),<sup>d</sup> Kelekesh (K<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-ky-kš<sup>2</sup>), Luka (Rw-k<sup>2</sup>), Kezweden (K<sup>2</sup>-d<sup>2</sup>-w<sup>2</sup>-dn), Carchemish (K-r<sup>2</sup>-k-my-š<sup>2</sup>),<sup>e</sup> Ekereth (ʿ-k<sup>2</sup>-ry-t), Kode (Kdy), the entire land of Nuges (Nw-g-s), Mesheneth (Mw-š<sup>2</sup>-n-t), and Kadesh (Kdš). <sup>15</sup>He left not a country which was not brought, to[gether with<sup>1</sup>] their chiefs<sup>f</sup> who were with him, every man bringing his chariotry, an exceeding great multitude, without its like. They covered the mountains and the valleys; they were like grasshoppers with their multitudes. <sup>16</sup>He left not silver nor gold<sup>g</sup> in his land (but) he plundered it of all its possessions and gave to every country, in order to bring them with him to battle.

*The Positions of the Two Armies*

310. Behold, the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta, together with the numerous allied countries, were stationed<sup>a</sup> in battle array, concealed on the northwest of the city of Kadesh,<sup>b</sup> while his majesty<sup>17</sup> was alone by himself,<sup>c</sup> [with] his bodyguard,<sup>c</sup> and the division of Amon was marching behind him. The division of Re crossed over the river-bed on the south side of the town of Shabtuna (*Š<sup>2</sup> -b-tw-n*),<sup>d</sup> at the distance of an iter<sup>e</sup> from the [division of Amon<sup>f</sup>]; ——— the division of Ptah was on the south of<sup>18</sup> the city of Aranami<sup>f</sup> (*ʔ -r<sup>2</sup> -n<sup>2</sup> -m*); and the division of Sutekh was marching upon the road.<sup>g</sup> His majesty had formed the first rank of all the leaders of his army, while they were on the shore in<sup>h</sup> the land of the Amor (*ʔ -m-w-r<sup>2</sup> i*). Behold, the

wretched <sup>29</sup>vanquished chief of<sup>a</sup> Kheta was stationed in the midst of the infantry which was with him, and he came not out to fight, for fear of his majesty. Then he made to go the people of the chariotry, an exceedingly numerous multitude like the sand, being three people to each span.<sup>b</sup> Now, they had made their combinations (thus): among every three youths was one man of the vanquished of Kheta,<sup>c</sup> <sup>20</sup>equipped with all the weapons of battle. Lo, they had stationed them in battle array, concealed on the northwest<sup>d</sup> the city of Kadesh.

### *The Attack of the Asiatics*

311. They came forth from the southern side of Kadesh, and they cut through the division of Re in its middle, while they were marching without knowing and without <sup>21</sup>being drawn up for battle. The infantry and chariotry of his majesty, L. P. H., retreated before them. Now, his majesty had halted on the north of the city of Kadesh, on the western side of the Orontes (<sup>2</sup>-*r-n-t*). Then came one to tell<sup>e</sup> it to his majesty, L. P. H.

### *Ramses' Attack*

312. His majesty, L. P. H., shone like his father <sup>22</sup>Montu, when he took the adornments of war; as he seized his coat of mail, he was like Baal in his hour. The great span which bore his majesty, L. P. H., called: "Victory-in-Thebes," from the great stables of Ramses (II),

<sup>a</sup>was in the midst of the leaders.<sup>a</sup> His majesty halted in the rout;<sup>b</sup> then <sup>a</sup>he charged into the foe, the vanquished of Kheta, being alone by himself and none other with him. When his majesty went to look behind him, he found 2,500 chariotry surrounding him, in his way out, <sup>a</sup>being all the youth of the wretched Kheta, together with its numerous allied countries: from Arvad (*ʿ-rʰ-tw*), from Mesa (*Mʰ-sʰ*), from Pedes (*Py-dʰ-sʰ*), from Keshkesh (*Kš-kš*), from Erwenet<sup>c</sup> (*Yr-wnʰ-t*, sic!), from Kezweden (*Kʰ-dʰ-wʰ-dʰ-nʰ*), from Aleppo (*Hy-rʰ-bw*), Eketeri (*ʿ-kʰ-t-r-y*, sic!), Kadesh (*Kdš*), and Luka (*Rw-kʰ-t<sup>d</sup>*), being three men to a span, acting in unison.

313. Now follow highly idealized and sometimes purely imaginary incidents, the creation of the poet, in which nothing is historical save the one fact that Ramses holds his own until the arrival of his southern army. He first calls upon Amon for help in his unequal battle. Amon responds and strengthens him against the foe. The king of the Kheta is obliged to summon his allied commanders and send them into the fray. Ramses addresses a scathing rebuke to his own troops, and when his charioteer is dismayed because they are entirely surrounded, he encourages him and charges six times into the hostile ranks, thus holding the enemy in check until his reinforcements from the south can come up.<sup>e</sup>

314. At evening the captives of every country are brought to the king's tent, and the next morning the plain is seen

covered with the dead, especially of the family of the prince of Kheta.<sup>a</sup> The army comes to the king's tent and celebrates his victory in a hymn of praise. But the king responds, reminding them of their cowardice, and reproaching them that they did not depend upon him to lead and protect them. The next (?) morning Ramses drew up his battle lines and renewed the attack with such effect that the prince of Kheta sent a humble letter suing for peace, which the king read in triumph before his assembled troops, who thereupon gave him another ovation.<sup>b</sup> Pleased with this flattery, he marches southward, and returns in peace to Thebes, where, of course, he is received with triumphant jubilation by the people.

315. The last three lines of Papyrus Sallier III (XI, 9-11), which is the only text in which the conclusion is preserved, furnish the date of "*this writing, in the year 9, second month of the third season, day —, [under the majesty] of King Ramses II.*" This particular copy was one "*which the scribe, Pentewere<sup>c</sup> (Pn-t<sup>3</sup> -wr·t) made*" (XI, 11), a mere copyist, who was not the author of the poem, as is still usually stated.

*b. Official Record of the Battle of Kadesh<sup>d</sup>*

316. This document is appended to the wall scenes (§§ 328-47), and seems to have been an official record of

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the battle. It is not as full as the Poem on the marches and positions of the two armies, but it narrates fully the inside history which led to Ramses' incautious advance to the north of Kadesh, furnishing an account of the earliest military ruse known in history. Of all this the Poem says nothing.

*Date*

317. 'Year 5, third month of the third season, day 9;<sup>a</sup> under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re; Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever.

*Camp South of Kadesh*

318. Lo, his majesty was in Zahi (*D<sup>3</sup> -hy*)<sup>b</sup> on his second victorious campaign. The goodly watch<sup>c</sup> in <sup>a</sup>life, prosperity and health, in the tent of his majesty, was on the highland south of Kadesh.

*False Message of the Shasu near Shabtuna*

319. When his majesty appeared like the rising of Re, he assumed the adornments of his father, Montu. When the king proceeded

northward, and his majesty had arrived at the locality south of <sup>3</sup>the town of Shabtuna<sup>a</sup> (*Š<sup>3</sup> -b-tw-n*), there came two<sup>b</sup> Shasu, to speak to his majesty as follows: "Our brethren, who belong to the greatest of the families with the vanquished chief of Kheta, have made us come to <sup>4</sup>his majesty, to say: 'We will be subjects of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and we will flee from the vanquished chief of Kheta; for the vanquished chief of Kheta sits<sup>c</sup> in the land of Aleppo (*Hy-r<sup>3</sup> -bu*), on the north of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*). He fears <sup>5</sup>because of Pharaoh, L. P. H., to come southward.' " Now, these Shasu spake these words, which they spake to his majesty, falsely, (for) the vanquished chief of Kheta made them come to spy <sup>6</sup>where his majesty was, in order to cause the army of his majesty not to draw up for fighting him,<sup>d</sup> to battle with the vanquished chief of Kheta.

#### *Positions of the Two Armies*

**320.** Lo, the vanquished chief of Kheta came with every chief of every country, their infantry and their chariotry, <sup>7</sup>which he had brought with him by force,<sup>e</sup> and stood, equipped, drawn up in line of battle behind Kadesh the Deceitful, while his majesty knew it not. Then his majesty proceeded northward and arrived on the northwest<sup>f</sup> of Kadesh; <sup>8</sup>and the army of his majesty [*'made camp'*] there.

#### *Examination of Hittite Scouts*

**321.** Then, as his majesty sat upon a throne of gold, there arrived a scout who was in the following of his majesty, and he brought two scouts of <sup>9</sup>the vanquished chief of Kheta. They were conducted into the pre-



sence, and his majesty said to them: "What are ye?" They said: "As for us, the vanquished chief of the Kheta has caused that we should come to spy out where his majesty is." Said his majesty <sup>10</sup>to them: "He! Where is he, the vanquished chief of Kheta? Behold, I have heard, saying: 'He is in the land of Aleppo (*H<sub>y</sub>-r<sup>2</sup>-b<sup>2</sup>*).'" Said they: "See, the vanquished chief of Kheta is stationed, together with many countries, <sup>11</sup>which he has brought with him by force,<sup>a</sup> being every country which is in the districts of the land of Kheta,<sup>b</sup> the land of Naharin (*N-hy-r-n*), and all Kode (*Kd*).<sup>c</sup> They are equipped with infantry and chariotry, bearing their <sup>12</sup>weapons; more numerous are they than the sand of the shore. See, they are standing, drawn up for battle, behind<sup>d</sup> Kadesh the Deceitful."

### *The Council of War*

322. Then his majesty had the princes called into the presence, <sup>13</sup>and had them hear every word which the two scouts of the vanquished chief of Kheta, who were in the presence, had spoken. Said his majesty to them: "See ye the manner wherewith the chiefs (*mr*) of the peasantry<sup>e</sup> (*yw<sup>c</sup>-ty*) and <sup>14</sup>the officials under whom is the land of Pharaoh, L. P. H., have stood, daily, saying to the Pharaoh: 'The vanquished chief of Kheta is in the land of Aleppo (*H<sub>y</sub>-r<sup>2</sup>-b<sup>2</sup> y*); he has fled before his majesty, <sup>15</sup>since hearing that, behold, he came.' So spake they to his majesty daily. But see, I have held a hearing in this very hour, with the two scouts of <sup>16</sup>the vanquished chief of Kheta, to the effect that the vanquished chief of Kheta is coming, together with the numerous countries [that are with] him, being people and horses, like the multitudes of the sand. They are stationed behind Kadesh the

Deceitful. But <sup>17</sup>the governors of the countries and the officials under whose authority is the land of Pharaoh, L. P. H., were not able to tell it to us."

323. Said the princes who were in the presence of his majesty: "It is a great fault, which the governors of the countries and the officials of Pharaoh, L. P. H., have committed <sup>18</sup>in not informing that <sup>a</sup>the vanquished chief of Kheta was near the king;<sup>a</sup> and (in) that they told his<sup>b</sup> report to his majesty daily."

*The Divisions in the South Are Ordered Up*

324. Then the vizier was ordered to hasten<sup>c</sup> <sup>19</sup>the army of his majesty, while they were marching on the south of Shabtuna<sup>d</sup> (*Š<sup>2</sup>-b-tw-n*), in order to bring them to the place where his majesty was.

*The Attack of the Asiatics*

325. Lo, while his majesty sat talking<sup>e</sup> with <sup>20</sup>the princes, the vanquished chief of Kheta came,<sup>f</sup> and the numerous countries, which were with him. They crossed over the channel<sup>g</sup> on the south of

Kadesh, and charged into the army of his majesty while they were <sup>21</sup>marching, and not expecting it. Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty retreated before them, northward to the place where his majesty was. Lo, the foes <sup>22</sup>of<sup>a</sup> the vanquished chief of Kheta surrounded<sup>b</sup> the bodyguard of his majesty, who were by his side.

*Ramses' Personal Attack*

326. When his majesty saw them, he was enraged against them, like his father, Montu, lord of Thebes. He seized the adornments of battle, <sup>23</sup>and arrayed himself in his coat of mail. He was like Baal in his hour. Then he betook himself to his horses, and led quickly on, being alone by <sup>24</sup>himself. He charged into the foes of the vanquished chief of Kheta, and the numerous countries which were with him. His majesty was like Sutekh, the great in strength, smiting and slaying among them; his majesty hurled them <sup>25</sup>headlong, one upon another into the water of the Orontes.<sup>c</sup>

*Ramses' Own Statement*

327. "I charged all countries, while I was alone, my infantry and my chariotry having forsaken me. Not one among them stood to turn about. I swear, as Re loves me, as my father, Atum, favors me, that, as for every matter which his majesty has stated, I did it in truth, in the presence of my infantry and my chariotry."

*c. The Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh<sup>d</sup>*

328. The pictured story of the battle of Kadesh presented in these reliefs, like the great epic poem on the battle, was a source of such gratification to Ramses, that he had them reproduced six times in the temples of Upper Egypt and

Nubia, and doubtless also several times in the vanished temples of Lower Egypt. As will be seen, owing to the primitive character of Egyptian topographical and architectural drawing, these scenes cannot be made to coincide with the data of the inscriptions, but they furnish invaluable side lights on the battle, and the accompanying inscriptions add facts of the greatest importance.

#### 1. THE COUNCIL OF WAR<sup>a</sup>

329. Ramses sits enthroned, with his officers before him, in consultation. Below, the two Hittite scouts are being beaten, to force them to disclose the location of the enemy.

The whole scene is evidently located in the tent visible as a rectangle in the center of the camp on the northwest of Kadesh.

*Beating Spies*

330. <sup>1</sup>The arrival of the scout of Pharaoh, L. P. H., bringing the two scouts of the vanquished chief <sup>2</sup>of Kheta into the presence of Pharaoh, L. P. H. They are beating them, to make them tell <sup>3</sup>where the wretched chief of Kheta is.

*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty: "Victory-in-Thebes," of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere-Beloved-of-Amon."

II. THE CAMP<sup>a</sup>

331. In the midst of a rectangular inclosure, barricaded with shields, appears the royal tent,<sup>b</sup> surrounded by the small tents of the officers and the animated life of the camp, which the "*first<sup>c</sup> division*," that of Amon, is engaged in arranging. This is the camp north or northwest of Kadesh (Record, l. 7; Poem, l. 21). Within the royal tent, Ramses sits, chiding his officers for their neglect, when suddenly the extreme north end of the Hittite right wing bursts in at the

eastern end of the barricade (upper right-hand corner), driving some members of the royal household before them. These hostile intruders are quickly dispatched by the household troops of Ramses, who are to be seen on foot poniarding them.

*Over Prince in Chariot*

332. <sup>1</sup>Fan-bearer on the king's right hand, —, <sup>2</sup>king's-scribe, army commander — <sup>3</sup>———— <sup>4</sup>his majesty the — <sup>5</sup>on his right hand —.

*Over Official in Chariot*

<sup>1</sup>Arrival of <sup>2</sup>the — of Pharaoh, L. P. H., at — — <sup>3</sup>the mother of the royal children, together with the <sup>4</sup>— of the divine mother <sup>5</sup>— — — fleeing to <sup>6</sup>the west [side] of the <sup>7</sup>camp <sup>8</sup>— — <sup>9</sup>before the foe.

*At Top*

The first division of Amon (named): "He-Gives-Victory-to-Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)-Given-Life," with which Pharaoh is engaged in making camp.

III. RAMSES' MESSENGERS<sup>a</sup>

333. These messengers are the ones sent southward by the vizier (Record, § 324, ll. 18 and 19) to hasten the forces still in the south near Shabtuna. To carry such a message, they must either make a wide detour westward, to go around the enemy's lines, or hazard the dangerous passage through them. To render the arrival of the orders more certain, the vizier dispatches a horseman, and goes himself<sup>b</sup> in a chariot. Their orders seem to concern only the division of

Ptah. This is because the southern half of the division of Re was, of course, aware of the attack, and the division of Sutekh was evidently too far away for Ramses to hope to bring them up in time.

*Before Horseman*

334. <sup>1</sup>The scout of the army of Pharaoh, L. P. H., <sup>2</sup>going to hasten the division of Ptah, <sup>3</sup>saying: "March on! <sup>4</sup>Pharaoh, L. P. H., your lord, <sup>5</sup>stands ———."

IV. THE BATTLE<sup>a</sup>

335. We here see the city of Kadesh, by which the battle was fought, so thoroughly moated that it seems to lie in the very Orontes itself, rather than on it. The four drawings of the city preserved show great differences among themselves;<sup>b</sup> and it is evident that no clear idea of the relative positions of city and combatants can be gained from them.<sup>c</sup> We must remember that, according to the inscriptions, the Pharaoh is north of the city. It would seem that a bend in the river enables him to charge directly toward the city, viz., southward, and to drive the enemy into the river. But if the side of the Egyptian drawing where the Pharaoh is, is north, then it represents him as on the east side of the river. Or again, if, as the texts state, he should be on the west side of the river in the Egyptian drawing, then the drawing represents him as south of the city and charging northward.

In no way can any of the four ancient drawings of this battle-field be made to coincide with the data of the inscriptions. This is not remarkable when we remember that they do not coincide with each other. In these, as in all Egyptian



FIG. 13.—The Modern Mound of Kadesh (from Koldewey)

drawings, each part is drawn largely irrespective of its relations to any of the other parts. We can here gain no true conception of the plan of the battle. Some facts stated in the inscriptions may be clearly seen in the reliefs however. We observe the Hittite chariotry (above and below) enfold-  
ing Ramses within its extended wings. We see also how he



drives into the river those in his immediate front, including many prominent allies, officials, and even relatives of the Hittite king. The king of Aleppo is held head downward by his soldiers on the farther shore, that he may disgorge the water which he has swallowed. Here also stands the Hittite king with 8,000 foot,<sup>a</sup> which he makes no effort to bring into action. The inscriptions are these:

*Over King's Horses and Chariot*

336. <sup>1</sup>The Good God, mighty in valor, great in victory, crushing <sup>2</sup>all countries, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re; Ramses-Meriamon. <sup>3</sup>The stand which his majesty made while he was camping on the north<sup>4</sup>west of Kadesh. He charged into the midst of the foe <sup>5</sup>belonging to the vanquished chief of Kheta, while he was alone <sup>6</sup>by himself, and no other with him. <sup>7</sup>He found surrounding him <sup>8</sup>2,500 horse in four bodies on his every side. <sup>9</sup>He slaughtered them, making <sup>10</sup>(them) heaps beneath his horses. <sup>11</sup>He slew <sup>12</sup>all the chiefs of all the countries, <sup>13</sup>the allies of the vanquished chief of Kheta, together with his own great chiefs, <sup>14</sup>his infantry and his chariotry. He overthrew them <sup>15</sup>prostrate upon their faces, and hurled them down, one upon another into the waters <sup>16</sup>of the Orontes. His majesty was behind them like a fierce-eyed lion <sup>17</sup>———— in their place. Lo, the vanquished chief of Kheta <sup>18</sup>stood extending backward his arms in praise of the Good God.

*Among the Fleeing Enemy*

337. Tergen — (*Ty-r<sup>2</sup> -g<sup>2</sup> -n —*).

Tergenenes (*Ty-r<sup>2</sup> -g<sup>2</sup> -n-n<sup>2</sup> -s<sup>2</sup>*), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

The great horse of his majesty: "Victory-in-Thebes;" of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere, -Beloved-of-Amon."

Kemeth ( $K^{\text{2}}-my-t^{\text{2}}$ ), chief of the Warriors ( $Tw-hy-r^{\text{2}}$ ).

—————cs (————— $s^{\text{2}}$ ), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Tergetetethes ( $Ty-r^{\text{2}}-g^{\text{2}}-ty-t-t^{\text{2}}-s^{\text{2}}$ ) chief of the archers of the Thebes ( $Kbsw$ ).

Kherpesar ( $Hy-r^{\text{2}}-p^{\text{2}}-s^{\text{2}}-r^{\text{2}}$ ), scribe of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Egem ( $c^{\text{2}}-g-m$ ), chief of the archers of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Teyeder ( $Ty-y^{\text{2}}-dw-r^{\text{2}}$ ), chief of the bodyguard of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Peyes ( $P^{\text{2}}-y-s^{\text{2}}$ ), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Gerbetes ( $G-r-b^{\text{2}}-tw-s^{\text{2}}$ ), chariot-warrior of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Semretes ( $S^{\text{2}}-my-r^{\text{2}}-tw-s^{\text{2}}$ ) ———.

Peyes ( $P^{\text{2}}-y-s^{\text{2}}$ ), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Teder ( $T^{\text{2}}-d^{\text{2}}-r^{\text{2}}$ ), chief of the warriors ( $Tw-hy-r^{\text{2}}$ ).

Methrom ( $My-t^{\text{2}}-ry-m^{\text{2}}$ ).

Rebesnen ( $R^{\text{2}}-b^{\text{2}}-sw-n-n^{\text{2}}$ ), chief of the archers of Enencs ( $n-n^{\text{2}}-s^{\text{2}}$ ).

Septher ( $S^{\text{2}}-p^{\text{2}}-t^{\text{2}}-r^{\text{2}}$ ), brother of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Thewethes ( $T^{\text{2}}-w^{\text{2}}-t^{\text{2}}-s^{\text{2}}$ ), chief of the country of Tenes ( $T^{\text{2}}-ny-s^{\text{2}}$ ).

Rebeyer ( $R^{\text{2}}-b^{\text{2}}-yw-r$ ).

The wretched chief of Aleppo ( $Hy-r^{\text{2}}-b^{\text{2}}$ ) turned upside down by his soldiers, after his majesty hurled him into the water.

Warriors ( $Tw-hy-r^{\text{2}}$ ), who are in front of the 'commander', 8,000.  
Town of Kadesh.

*By the King of Kheta*

**338.** <sup>1</sup>The vanquished, wretched chief of Kheta, <sup>2</sup>standing before his infantry and chariots <sup>3</sup>with his face turned round, and his heart afraid. <sup>4</sup>He went not forth to battle, for fear of his majesty, <sup>5</sup>after he saw his majesty prevailing [against the vanquished chief] <sup>6</sup>of Kheta and all the chiefs of all the countries <sup>7</sup>[who] were with him. His majesty — — — <sup>8</sup>he overthrew them — — —. <sup>9</sup>[The vanquished chief of Kheta] said: "He is like <sup>10</sup>Sutekh, great in might; Baal is <sup>11</sup>in his limbs."

V. THE DEFENSE OF THE CAMP<sup>a</sup>

339. While Ramses was at the front early in the battle, his camp was entered by the Hittite advance; but on the arrival of the “recruits” from Amor, the latter fell upon these spoilers and slaughtered them.

*In Front of Troops*

340. <sup>1</sup>The arrival of the recruits of Pharaoh, L. P. H., from the land of Amor (<sup>2</sup>*-m-w-r*). They found that the force of the vanquished chief of Kheta had surrounded the <sup>3</sup>camp of his majesty on its western side. His majesty had been camping alone, no army with him, [<sup>4</sup>awaiting the<sup>5</sup>] arrival of his [<sup>6</sup>officers<sup>7</sup>] <sup>8</sup>and his army and the division with which Pharaoh, L. P. H., was, had not finished setting up the camp. Now the division <sup>9</sup>of Re and the division of Ptah were on the march; they had not (yet) arrived, and their officers were in the [<sup>10</sup>forest<sup>11</sup>] of Bcwey (*B* <sup>12</sup>*-w-y*). Then the recruits <sup>13</sup>cut off the foe belonging to the vanquished chief of Kheta, while they (the foe) were entering into the camp, and Pharaoh's officers<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup>slew them; they left not a single survivor among them. Their hearts were filled with the mighty valor of Pharaoh, <sup>16</sup>their good lord; he was behind them like a steward of —, like a wall of iron, forever and ever.

VI. AFTER THE BATTLE<sup>c</sup>

341. This relief shows us the king after the battle is over, enjoying his triumph. As he stands in his chariot, his officers throw down before him the hands of the slain, cut off as trophies. The relief on the Abydos temple (unpublished), though very fragmentary, contained a fuller repre-

sentation of Ramses' triumph than the meager scene at Abu Simbel. It showed the king receiving the prisoners, captured according to the accompanying inscriptions, by himself! These inscriptions<sup>a</sup> are as follows:

*Ramses' Officers Bringing Captives before Him*

**342.** Bringing in prisoners before his majesty, being those which [he] brought off in the victory of his sword in this wretched land of Kheta, when his majesty caused to be [‘announced to’] his infantry and his chariotry, saying: “[‘Behold, these are’] the prisoners of my own capture, while I was alone, no infantry being with me, nor any prince with me, nor any chariotry.”

*Beside a Group of Prisoners*

**343.** List (*shwty*) of those countries which his majesty slew, while alone by himself: Corpses, horses, and chariots, bows, swords, all the weapons of warfare.

*Beside Another Group of Prisoners*

**344.** Receiving the prisoners which his majesty brought off, in the victory of his sword in this wretched land of Kheta and this wretched land [of] Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), together with the chiefs of all countries who came with the vanquished chief of Kheta, <sup>b</sup>as living captives.<sup>b</sup>

*Over Fleeing Chariots*

**345.** Warriors (*Tw-hy-r<sup>2</sup>*) of [— —] the chariots of the camp of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

The texts at Abu Simbel are not so full; they are the following:

*Behind Chariot*

**346.** <sup>1</sup>The Good God, who fought for his army, whose sword repulsed the Nine Bows; king, mighty in victory, <sup>2</sup>who hath not his like; charging into the multitudes of every country, making them prostrate bodies. <sup>3</sup>His face is fierce-eyed before the chief of Kheta, and the countries of Naharin [— —].

*Over Horses*

**347.** Great first span of his majesty (named): "Mut-is-Satisfied," of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere-Beloved-of-Amon."

VII. PRESENTATION OF CAPTIVES TO AMON<sup>a</sup>

**348.** As his father, Seti I, is seen presenting captives and spoil to Amon, on the north wall of the great Karnak hypostyle, so Ramses appears in a like capacity on its south wall. Here he leads and presents to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, three rows of prisoners, accompanied by inscriptions<sup>b</sup> which show that they are captives taken at the battle of Kadesh:

**349.** List of the chiefs of Kheta, which his majesty, L. P. H., brought as living captives to the house of his father, Amon: Derden (*D-r<sup>2</sup> -d-n-y*), Pedes (*Py-d-s<sup>2</sup>*), Kele[kesh] (*Ky-r<sup>2</sup> -[ky-š<sup>2</sup>]*) ———.

**350.** These are followed by four short lines of prisoners, each led by one of Ramses' sons:

*a)* ——— [behind his majesty, by the] ——— scribe, commander in chief of the army, Amenhirkhepeshef.

*b)* ——— [behind] his majesty, by the king's-son, Khamwese.

*c)* ——— behind his majesty, by the king's-son, Meriamon.

*d)* ——— behind his majesty, by the king's-son, Seti.

**351.** All these are designated as:

Captives from the northern countries, who came to overthrow his majesty, whom his majesty slew, and whose subjects he brought as living captives, to fill the storehouse of his father, Amon.

## III. PALESTINIAN REVOLT

**352.** At some time between the fifth and eighth years all Palestine, doubtless incited by the Hittites, revolted<sup>c</sup> against

Ramses II, and he was obliged to take up the reconquest of his Asiatic possessions, at his very door, in the later Philistine country with the siege of Askalon.<sup>a</sup>

#### I. RECONQUEST OF SOUTHERN PALESTINE<sup>b</sup>

353. A relief at Karnak represents the storming of the city of Askalon, and the accompanying inscription refers to its rebellion. Of course, Askalon did not revolt alone, but must have been in league with the other cities of Palestine.

354. In the relief we see the king in his chariot charging the bearded defenders, lined up outside a battlemented city, which is located on an elevation. The storming ladders are up, and an Egyptian officer is demolishing the city gate with an ax, while the inhabitants appear on the walls, beseeching mercy. By the city is the following inscription:

355. The wretched city (*dmy*), which his majesty captured, when it rebelled, Askalon (? *-s-k-rw-n*). It (the city) says: "It is joy to be subject to thee, and delight to cross thy boundaries. Take thou the heritage, that we may speak of thy valor in all unknown countries."

Over the king's horses appears the usual glorification of his valor.

#### II. RECONQUEST OF NORTHERN PALESTINE

356. By the eighth year Ramses has reached northern Palestine again, and captures the cities of western Galilee.

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The only document is a list<sup>a</sup> showing rows of battlemented cities from which Egyptian officers drive prisoners. Each city bears an inscription beginning: "*City which his majesty plundered in the year 8;*" after which appears the name of a city.<sup>b</sup> Only a few of these names have survived, among which are: a "*city on the mount of Bethanath* ( $B^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $y$ - $ty$ - $ḥ$ - $n$ - $ty$ )," named Kerpet ( $K^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $r^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $pw$ -[ $t$ ]); Merem ( $M^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $r^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $m$ , Hebrew, Marôm "Height"); and Sherem ( $S^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $r^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $m$ , Hebrew, Salôm, "Greeting"). The only place not in the west Galilean region is a city "*in the land of Amor* ( $^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $m$ - $w$ - $r^{\text{ṣ}}$ ), *Deper* ( $D^{\text{ṣ}}$  - $pw$ - $r^{\text{ṣ}}$ )," which carries us over to the region of Tabor.<sup>c</sup> The capture of this city has been depicted with great spirit and much detail in a splendid relief at the Ramesseum.<sup>d</sup> It shows Ramses' sons<sup>e</sup> playing a prominent part in the battle.

357. The accompanying inscriptions unfortunately contain almost exclusively the conventional praise of the king's valor. They disclose, however, the important fact that the

Hittites have pushed southward since the battle of Kadesh and temporarily occupied the Tabor region, from which Ramses now ejects them (ll. 11-13). This is the extreme southern limit of the Hittite advance, and was, of course, purely transitory, as their remains are not found south of Hamath. This extreme advance is undoubtedly to be connected with the revolt in Palestine.

**358.** It was perhaps at this time that the northern trans-Jordan region, the Hauran, again<sup>a</sup> came under the control of Ramses, and some official erected a memorial relief<sup>b</sup> of him there, representing him offering to one of the local gods, with possibly a Semitic name.

The Deper scene, which is our longest document on this period, contains the following inscriptions:

**359.** "Said the vanquished of Kheta in praising the Good God: "Give to us the breath that thou givest, O good ruler. Lo, we are under thy sandals; thy terror, <sup>2</sup>it has penetrated the land of Kheta. Its chief <sup>3</sup>is fallen, because of thy fame; we are like herds <sup>4</sup>of horses, when the fierce-eyed lion <sup>5</sup>attacks them."

**360.** "The Good God, mighty in valor in the countries, stout-hearted <sup>7</sup>in the array, firm on the steed, <sup>8</sup>beautiful in the chariot, when he has taken the bow, shooting, <sup>9</sup>(or) fighting hand to hand, — firm, whom none escapes, — — taking the "beautiful" corselet <sup>10</sup>— — — in the array, and returning when he has triumphed over <sup>11</sup>the vanquished chief of Kheta. When he overthrew him, he scattered him like <sup>12</sup>straw before the wind, (so that) he forsook his city, <sup>13</sup>for fear of him. He (Ramses) set his fame therein for every day. His might was in his limbs <sup>14</sup>like fire; a bull fighting upon his boundary, seizing <sup>15</sup>upon the things "which he has captured", a survivor of his hand he has not left. <sup>16</sup>He is a tempest in the countries, great in tumult; bringing <sup>17</sup>the storm-cloud against the chiefs, to desolate their cities, making all their places



<sup>18</sup>into desert regions. His arrows are behind them like Sekhmet <sup>19</sup>when the wind seizes a — — — the wretched land <sup>20</sup>of Kheta, which is his enemy. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere, <sup>21</sup>Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon.

*Over Horses' Heads and again over Their Backs*

361. Great first span of his majesty (named): "Meriamon," of the great stable of Ramses-Meriamon.

*Six Princes, Beginning at Left*

362. 1. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Khamwese.
2. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Montu —.
3. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Meriamon.
4. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenemuya.
5. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Seti.
6. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Setepnere.

*In City*

———— [D]eper [D]<sup>2</sup> -pw-rw).

#### IV. CAMPAIGN IN NAHARIN

363. Having thus, in the Palestinian war, recovered Palestine, Ramses again pushed northward and advanced into Naharin.<sup>b</sup>

##### I. CONQUEST OF NAHARIN

364. In a fragment<sup>c</sup> at the Ramesseum we find him fighting at Tunip. He has, it would seem, already held this important city of the north, and had set up in it a statue of himself. The city had then revolted, and Ramses is now recapturing it. The inscription evidently narrated some personal exploit of Ramses without his coat of mail.

365. 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life. The king himself, he says: "I swear as Re loves me, as my father Atum favors me, as my nostrils are rejuvenated with satisfying life <sup>2</sup>———— the 'palace'." As for this 'overthrow', they stood fighting the city of Kheta, wherein the statue of his majesty, L. P. H., was. His majesty made it <sup>3</sup>———— his infantry and his chariotry. His majesty was at the front of his infantry and his chariotry <sup>4</sup>———— the vanquished of Kheta, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*) in the land of N[aharin]. His majesty took his coat of mail <sup>5</sup>———— twice.<sup>a</sup> He stood fighting the city of the vanquished of Kheta, at the front of his infantry and his <sup>6</sup>[chariotry] ————— ['not having' his] coat of mail upon him. [His] majesty came to take his coat of mail again. It was placed upon him, when <sup>7</sup>———— [the vanquished] of Kheta, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*) in the land of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), while his coat of mail was not upon [him].

366. In harmony with this fragment, we find that the lists<sup>b</sup> of cities and countries, which Ramses claims to have conquered, mention Naharin, Lower Retenu, Arvad, Keftycw, and Ketne<sup>c</sup> in the Orontes valley. The fact that these northern regions had to some extent already been under Ramses' control indicates long and arduous campaigning against the Hittites. The revolt of these regions, evident from the Ramesseum fragment just translated, was therefore undoubtedly late in the Asiatic war, and probably had something to do with Ramses' willingness to make peace, later sealed by a treaty of alliance with the Hittites in the year 21, seventeen years after the beginning of the war.

II. TREATY WITH THE HITTITES<sup>a</sup>

367. After possibly fifteen years of warfare in Syria, Ramses II consents to a peace with the Hittites. This peace is sealed in a treaty of alliance which forms one of the most remarkable documents which have survived from ancient Egypt. The copy preserved to us is clearly a translation from an original in a foreign language,<sup>b</sup> and in his rendering the Egyptian translator has not always succeeded too well.

368. For recording upon the temple walls, the royal scribe has prefixed: (1) the date (l. 1); (2) the account of the arrival of two Hittite messengers with the treaty on a silver tablet; and (3) the heading of the copy as preserved in the royal archives. In content the treaty which follows is clear and well arranged. After a title or caption, it proceeds with the following eighteen paragraphs:

1. Review of the former relations of the two countries, the immemorial peace of earlier times, and the later war.

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2. Formal declaration of the new peace pact, which is made binding upon future generations.<sup>a</sup>

3. Mutual resignation of all projects for further conquest in Syria, but without any statement of the boundary adopted.

4. Reaffirmation of the former treaty of the time of Khetasar's grandfather, Seplel,<sup>b</sup> which had continued till interrupted by the war with Khetasar's brother, Metella; but with no restatement of its articles.

5. Egypt makes a defensive alliance with Kheta, depending upon the latter's assistance against all foreign foes.

6. Egypt is to enjoy the co-operation of Kheta in the chastisement of rebellious Syrian (?) subjects.

7. Analogous to 5, in Kheta's favor.

8. Analogous to 6, in Kheta's favor.

9. Extradition of Egypt's political fugitives to Kheta.

10. Extradition of emigrants from Egypt to Kheta.

11. Extradition of Kheta's political fugitives to Egypt.

12. Extradition of emigrants from Kheta to Egypt.

13. The witness of the gods of Kheta and Egypt.

14. Curse on the violator of the treaty.

15. Blessing on the observer of the treaty.<sup>c</sup>

16. Appendix exacting humane treatment of persons

extradited from Kheta, who are to suffer no injury in person, family, or property.

17. The same regarding those extradited from Egypt.

18. This final paragraph belongs only to the copy, and not to the treaty. It describes the figures and seals on the silver tablet, and records the words accompanying these seals.

369. Space does not permit further discussion of this remarkable document,\* but it will be evident that, notwithstanding Ramses' conquest of such northern cities as Tunip in Naharin (§§ 344 f.), he never succeeded in breaking the power of the Hittites. Evidently his complete success in stopping the further southward advance of so powerful an invader was no small reason for congratulation.

#### *Date*

370. <sup>1</sup>Year 21, first month of the second season, twenty-first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re-Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Mut, mistress of Ishru, and Khonsu-Neferhotep; shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Harakhte, forever and ever.

#### *Arrival of the Hittite Messengers*

371. <sup>2</sup>On this day, 10, his majesty was at the city (called): "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon," performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amor-Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis; Amon<sup>b</sup> of Ramses-Meriamon, Ptah<sup>b</sup> of Ramses-Meriamon, "— great in strength, son of Mut," according as they gave to him eternity in jubilees, everlastingness in peaceful years, all lands, and all countries being prostrate beneath his sandals forever. <sup>3</sup>There came the king's-messenger,

the deputy and butler —,<sup>a</sup> together with the king's-messenger —<sup>a</sup> [bringing<sup>1</sup> to the king] Ramses II [the messenger<sup>1</sup>] of [Kheta<sup>1</sup>, Ter]teseb and the [second messenger<sup>1</sup>] of Kheta [bearing<sup>1</sup> a silver tablet<sup>b</sup>] <sup>a</sup>which the great chief of the Kheta, Khetasar (*H-t<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>*) [caused]<sup>b</sup> to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., to crave peace [fro]m [the majesty] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II,<sup>c</sup> given life, forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day.

*Heading of the Copy*

**372.** Copy of the silver tablet, which the great chief of Kheta, Khetasar (*H-t<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>*) caused to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., by the hand of his messenger, <sup>s</sup>Terteseb (*T<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-ty-š-bw*), and his messenger, Ramose, to crave peace from the majesty of Ramses II, the Bull of rulers, making his boundary as far as he desires in every land.

*Caption of the Treaty*

**373.** The treaty which the great chief of Kheta, Khetasar, the valiant, the son of Merasar (*M-r<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>*), <sup>6</sup>the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, the grandson<sup>d</sup> of Seplel (*S<sup>2</sup>-p<sup>2</sup>-[rw-rw]*), [the great chief of Kheta, the val]iant, made, upon a silver tablet for Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the son of Menmare (Seti I), the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the grandson of Menpehtire (Ramses I), <sup>7</sup>the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant; the good treaty of peace and of brotherhood, setting peace [between them<sup>e</sup>], forever.

*Former Relations of the Two Countries*

374. 1. Now, at the beginning, since eternity, the relations of the great ruler of Egypt with the great chief of Kheta were (such) that the god prevented hostilities between them, by treaty. Whereas, in <sup>8</sup>the time of Metella (*Mw-t-n-r* <sup>2</sup>), the great chief of Kheta, my brother, he fought w[ith Ramses II],<sup>2</sup> the great ruler of Egypt, yet afterward, beginning with this day, behold, Khetasar, the great chief of Kheta, is [in] a treaty-relation for establishing the relations which the Re made, and which Sutekh made,<sup>b</sup> for the land of Egypt, <sup>9</sup>with the land of Kheta, in order not to permit hostilities to arise between them, forever.

*The New Peace Pact*

375. 2. Behold then, Khetasar, the great chief of Kheta, is in treaty relation with Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, beginning with this day, in order to bring about good peace and good brotherhood between us forever, <sup>10</sup>while he is in brotherhood with me, he is in peace with me; and I am in brotherhood with him, and I am in peace with him, forever. Since Metella (*Mw-t-n-r* <sup>2</sup>), the great chief of Kheta, my brother, succumbed to his fate,<sup>c</sup> and Khetasar sat as

<sup>11</sup>great chief of Kheta upon the throne of his father, behold, I am together with Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and he is [‘with<sup>a</sup> me in’] our peace and our brotherhood. It is better than the former peace and brotherhood which were in the land. Behold, I, even the great chief of Kheta, am with <sup>12</sup>[Ramses II], the great ruler of Egypt, in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children of the great chief of Kheta shall be in brotherhood and peace with the children of the children of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, being in our relations of brotherhood and our relations <sup>13</sup>[of peace], that the [land of Egypt] may be with the land of Kheta in peace and brotherhood like ourselves, forever.

*Mutual Renunciation of Further Conquests*

**376.** 3. There shall be no hostilities between them, forever. The great chief of Kheta shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land <sup>14</sup>[of Kheta, to take anything] therefrom, forever.

*Reaffirmation of the Former Treaties*

**377.** 4. As for the former<sup>b</sup> treaty which was in the time of Seplel (*S<sup>2</sup> -p<sup>2</sup> -rw-rw*), the great chief of Kheta, likewise the former<sup>b</sup> treaty which was in the time of Metella (*Mw-t-n-r<sup>2</sup>*), the great chief of Kheta, my father,<sup>c</sup> I will hold to it. Behold, Ramses-Meriamon, the great



ruler of Egypt, will hold <sup>15</sup>[to it] with us <sup>1</sup>[together], beginning with this day. We will hold to it, and we will deal in this former manner.<sup>a</sup>

*Egypt's Defensive Alliance with Kheta*

378. 5. If another enemy come against the lands of Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, and he shall send to the great chief of Kheta, saying: "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the great chief of Kheta shall <sup>16</sup>[come], and the great chief of Kheta shall slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Kheta to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and shall slay his enemy.

*Chastisement of Syrian Subjects*

379. 6. Or if Ramses-Meriamon, <sup>17</sup>[the great ruler of Egypt], be provoked against <sup>1</sup>[delinquent] subjects,<sup>b</sup> when they have committed some other fault against him, and he come to slay them, then the great chief of Kheta shall act with the lord of Egypt [<sup>18</sup>— —].

*Kheta's Defensive Alliance with Egypt*

380. 7. If another en[emy come] against the great chief of Kheta, [and he shall send] to the great chief (sic!) [of Egypt], Usermare-Setepnere <sup>18</sup>[<sup>c</sup>for reinforcements] then he] shall come to him as reinforcement, to slay his enemy. But if it be [not]<sup>d</sup> the desire of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, to come, he shall [send his infantry and his chariotry <sup>1</sup>and shall slay his enemy]. [<sup>19</sup>Or] ———— <sup>19</sup>— seeing them, besides returning answer to the land of Kheta.<sup>e</sup>

*Chastisement of Syrian Subjects*

381. 8. Now if subjects of the great chief of Kheta transgress against him, and Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall ——— the land of Kheta and the land of Egypt <sup>20</sup>— — — [— —], that is to say: “I will come after [their punishment],<sup>1a</sup> to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, living forever, — — — the land of Kheta. . . . .  
 . . . . .<sup>b</sup> their appointing him for them, to be lord, to cause that Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall be silent from his speech forever.<sup>c</sup> If he — his — — the land of Kheta, and he shall turn back [again to] the great chief of Kheta ———.

*Extradition of Political Fugitives in Kheta*

382. 9. [If any great<sup>d</sup> man of the land of Egypt shall flee and shall come to] the great chief of Kheta, from either a town <sup>22</sup>[or] — of the lands of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and they shall come to the great chief of Kheta, then the great chief of Kheta shall not receive them, (but) the great chief of Kheta shall cause them to be brought to Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, t[heir] lord therefor.

*Extradition of Emigrants to Kheta*

383. 10. Or if there flee a man, or two men who are unknown <sup>23</sup>—, and they shall come to<sup>e</sup> the land of Kheta, to become foreign subjects, then they shall not be settled in the land of Kheta, but they shall be brought to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt.

*Extradition of Political Fugitives in Egypt*

384. 11. Or if any great man shall flee from the land of Kheta, [and he shall come to] Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, (from) either a town or a district,<sup>2</sup> or <sup>24</sup>[any region of] those belonging to the land of Kheta, and they shall come to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, then Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them, (but) Ramses - Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Kheta. They shall not be settled.

*Extradition of Emigrants to Egypt*

385. 12. Likewise, if there flee a man, or two, or three, <sup>25</sup>[who are not] known, and they shall come to the land of Egypt, to become foreign subjects, then Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not settle them, (but) he shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Kheta.

*The Witness of the Gods of Kheta and Egypt*

386. 13. As for the words of this 'contract'<sup>10</sup> of the great chief of Kheta, with Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler <sup>26</sup>[of Egypt], written upon this silver tablet; as for these words, a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods, of those of the land of Kheta, together with a thousand gods, of the male gods and of the female gods of those of the land of Egypt, they are with me as witnesses [to] these words: the Sun-god, lord of the heavens, the Sun-god, of the city of Ernen<sup>c</sup> (ʿ-r-n-n<sup>2</sup>), <sup>27</sup>Sutekh, the lord of the heavens, Sutekh of Kheta, Sutekh of the city of Ernen, Sutekh of the city Zepyerened (D<sup>2</sup>-pw-y<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-n-d<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh of the city of Perek (P<sup>2</sup>-y-r<sup>2</sup>-k<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh of the city of Khesesep (Hy-s<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>-p<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh of the city Seres (S<sup>2</sup>-ry-sw), Sutekh of the city of Aleppo (Hy-r<sup>2</sup>-p<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh of the city of Reklisen (R<sup>2</sup>-h<sup>2</sup>-sy-n<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh <sup>28</sup>[of the city of —], ———— [—], Sutekh of the

city of Sekhpen ( $S^2-y-hy-p^2 y-n^2$ ), Antheret ( $^c n^a-t-r^2-ty$ ) of the land of Kheta, the god of Zeyethekhrer ( $\underline{D}^2 y-y^2-t-hy-r-ry$ ), the god of Kerzet — ( $K^2-r-d^2 y-t^2-$  —), the god of Kherpenteres ( $\underline{H}-r-p^2-n-ty-ry-s^2$ ), <sup>29</sup>the goddess of the city of Kerekhen —  $n$  — ( $K^2-r-h-n-$  —  $n$  — —), the goddess of 'Khewek' ( $^f H^1-w^2-k^2b$ ), the goddess of Zen — ( $\underline{D}^2-y-n-$  —), the god of Zen — wet ( $^f \underline{D}^2-n-$  —  $^f nw^1-ty$ ), <sup>c</sup> the god of Serep ( $S^2-r^2-p^2$ ), <sup>d</sup> the god of Khenbet ( $\underline{H}-n-b^2-t^2$ ), <sup>e</sup> the queen of the heavens, gods, lords of swearing, the goddess, the mistress of the soil, the mistress of swearing, Teskher ( $T^2-s^2-h-r^2$ ), the mistress of <sup>30</sup>the mountains, and the rivers of the land of Kheta, the gods of the land of Kezweden ( $Ky-d^2-w^2-d^2-n^2$ ), Amon, the Sun-god, Sutekh, the male gods and the female gods of the mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt, of the heavens, the soil, the great sea, the wind, and the storms.

*Curse on the Violator of the Treaty*

387. 14. Now, these words, <sup>31</sup>which are upon this silver tablet, are for <sup>f</sup>the land of Kheta and for the land of Egypt. As for him who shall not keep them, the thousand gods of the land of Kheta, and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall desolate his house, his land, and his subjects.

*Blessing on the Observer of the Treaty*

388. 15. Now as for him who shall keep these words, which are upon this silver tablet, whether they<sup>g</sup> be of Kheta, or whether they be people <sup>32</sup>of Egypt, and they shall not devise (aught) against them; the thousand gods of the land of Kheta, together with the thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall preserve his health, and his life, together with his issue, with his land, <sup>h</sup> and his subjects.

*Treatment of Extradited Persons by Kheta*

**389.** 16. If a man flee from the land of Egypt, or two or three, and <sup>33</sup>come<sup>a</sup> to the great chief of Kheta, the great chief of Kheta shall seize upon them, and shall cause them to be brought back to Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt. Now, as for the man who shall be brought (back) to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, let not his crime be set up against him; let not <sup>34</sup>his house be injured, nor his wives, nor his children, [let] him [not be killed], and let no injury be done to his eyes, to his ears, to his mouth, nor to his feet. Let not any crime be set up against him.

*Treatment of Extradited Persons by Egypt*

**390.** 17. Likewise if a man flee from the land of Kheta, be it one, be it two, (or) be it three, and they shall come to Usermare-Setepnere, <sup>35</sup>the great ruler of Egypt, let Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, seize [upon them, and let him cause] that they be brought to the great chief of Kheta; and the great chief of Kheta shall not set up their crime against them; let not his house be injured, nor his wives, nor his children, let him not be killed, and let no injury be done to his ears, <sup>36</sup>to his eyes, to his mouth, nor to his feet. Let not any crime be set up against him.

*Figures and Seals on the Front of the Silver Plate*

**391.** 18. <sup>b</sup>That which is in the middle of this silver tablet: on its front side is a figure<sup>c</sup> in the likeness of Sutekh embracing the likeness of the great chief of Kheta, surrounded by the following [words]: "The seal of Sutekh, the ruler of the heavens; the seal of the treaty which Khetasar, the great chief <sup>37</sup>of Kheta, the valiant, the son of Merasar (*M-r<sup>2</sup> -s<sup>2</sup> -r<sup>2</sup>*), the valiant, the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, made."

That<sup>a</sup> which is in the midst of the surrounding design<sup>b</sup> is the seal [of Sutekh, the ruler of the heavens]. [That which is 'in the middle' on] its other side is a figure, in the likeness of '—'<sup>c</sup> of Kheta, embracing the figure of the princess of Kheta, surrounded by the following words: "The seal of the <sup>38</sup>Sun-god of the city of Ernen (<sup>ʿ</sup>-<sup>r</sup>-<sup>n</sup>-<sup>n</sup>), the lord of the land; the seal of Petkhep (<sup>Pw</sup>-<sup>tw</sup>-<sup>hy</sup>-<sup>p</sup>), the princess<sup>d</sup> of the land of Kheta, the daughter of the land of Kezweden (<sup>Ky</sup>-<sup>d</sup> -<sup>w</sup>-<sup>d</sup>-<sup>n</sup>), the — — — of Ernen, the mistress of the land, the votress of the goddess. That which is in the midst of the surrounding design is the seal of the Sun-god of Ernen, the lord of every land."

#### RELATIONS OF EGYPT WITH THE HITTITES AFTER THE WAR

392. Ramses II regarded the conclusion of his war with the Hittites as a triumph for himself. Peace once established, he referred to himself continually as the conqueror of the Hittites.<sup>e</sup> Especially at Abu Simbel is this noticeable, where his inscriptions speak of him as one:

"Who has made the land of Kush as if it had not existed; who has caused the land of Kheta to cease the contradiction of its mouth . . . . . smiter of the land of Kheta . . . . . smiter of the land of Kheta, which is made heaps of dead."<sup>f</sup>

This attitude is also evident in his obelisk inscriptions, e. g., at Tanis he is spoken of as "*carrying off the chiefs of Retenu as living prisoners, crushing the land of Kheta;*"

and again, "*penetrating this land of Kheta, capturing it with valor, making a great slaughter among his heroes.*"<sup>a</sup>

393. This is the light then, in which the Egyptians chose to represent their relations with Kheta. But the peace was not broken, and we are able to trace the amicable relations between the two nations through the thirty-fifth year of Ramses' reign, and we know it continued also into that of his successor. The documents are:

I. Blessing of Ptah (§§ 394-414).

II. Marriage Stela (§§ 415-24).

III. Message of the Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode (§§ 425, 426).

IV. Coptos Stela (§§ 427, 428).

V. Bentresh Stela (§§ 429-447).

#### I. THE BLESSING OF PTAH<sup>b</sup>

394. This remarkable document contains a long address of Ptah to Ramses II, which promises him all possible good fortune (ll. 3-28). To this Ramses replies by enumerating some of his good works for the god (ll. 29-37). The document is chiefly of religious interest, but both addresses contain references to historical events of importance.

395. The speech of Ptah mentions his building of the

residence city, Tanis (ll. 16-18), and the visit of the Hittite king (ll. 24-28), bringing his eldest daughter, which had occurred in the year 34, a year before the erection of our stela. It furnishes us with a shorter account of the incident than the Marriage Stela (§§ 415-24). It is interesting to note that the visit is attributed to the influence of Ptah (ll. 15 and 25), just as in the Coptos Stela (§§ 427, 428), which refers to the same or a similar incident.

**396.** The reply of Ramses mentions in particular his temple buildings at Memphis (ll. 32-34) and their endowment (ll. 34, 35).

**397.** A relief at the top of the stela shows Ramses II smiting three Asiatic enemies before Ptah-Tatenen, who is leading to him six captives, one of whom is a Negro, and the rest are bearded; but, as the names show, the latter should be Negroes (p. 202, n. c). The inscription below, of thirty-seven lines, is as follows:

#### *Date*

**398.** <sup>1</sup>Year 35, first month of the second season, day 13, under the majesty of . . . . . <sup>2</sup>. . . . . Ramses II, <sup>a</sup> given life.

#### *Introduction*

**399.** Utterance of Ptah-Tatenen, of lofty plumes and ready horns, begetter of the gods, to his son, his beloved, <sup>3</sup>firstborn of his body, the divine god, sovereign of the gods, great in royal jubilees like Tatenen, King Ramses II, given life:<sup>b</sup>

#### *Speech of Ptah; Birth of Ramses*

**400.** "I am thy father, who begat thee as the gods, all thy limbs are of the gods. I assumed my form as the Ram, lord of <sup>4</sup>Mendes,<sup>c</sup> and begat thee in thy august mother,<sup>c</sup> since I knew that thou wouldst be



my champion, that thou wouldst indeed do profitable things for my ka. I fashioned thee to rise like Re, exalted thee before the gods, King Ramses II, given life. The companions of <sup>5</sup>Ptah jubilate,<sup>a</sup> thy Meskhenet<sup>b</sup> rejoices in jubilation since <sup>c</sup>they have seen me, <sup>f</sup>a likeness to<sup>1c</sup> my august, great, and mighty body. The priestesses<sup>d</sup> of the house of Ptah, the Hathors<sup>b</sup> of the house of Atum are <sup>6</sup>in festivity, their hearts are in joy. Their hands are uplifted in acclaim since they have seen thy beautiful form. Thy amiability is like my <sup>f</sup>majesty<sup>1</sup>; the gods and goddesses acclaim thy beauty, praising, <sup>7</sup>and assigning to me laudation, saying: "Thou art our august father, who hast fashioned for us a god like thee, Ramses II, given life."

*Ptah Promises Happiness*

401. "When I see thee my heart rejoices, and I receive thee in an embrace of gold, I enfold thee with <sup>8</sup>permanence, stability and satisfaction; I endow thee with health and joy of heart; I immerse thee in rejoicing, joy, gladness of heart, and delights, — forever."

*Ptah Promises Wisdom*

402. "I make thy heart divine like me, I choose thee, I weigh thee, I prepare thee, that thy heart may discern, that thy utterance may be profitable. There is nothing <sup>9</sup>whatever which thou dost not know, (for) I have completed thee <sup>e</sup>this day and before, that thou mayest make all men live by thy instruction,<sup>e</sup> O King Ramses II, given life."

*Ptah Promises Power*

403. "I have set thee as everlasting king, ruler established forever. I have wrought <sup>10</sup>thy limbs of electrum, thy bones of copper, thy organs of iron. I have given to thee the divine office, that thou mayest rule the Two Lands <sup>f</sup>like the King of Upper and Lower Egypt."<sup>f</sup>

*Ptah Promises Agricultural Wealth*

404. "I give thee a great Nile, I endow for thee the Two Lands with wealth, produce, food, and luxuries, giving <sup>11</sup>plenty<sup>a</sup> in every place where thou treadest. I give to thee constant harvests, to feed the Two Lands at all times; the sheaves<sup>b</sup> thereof are like the sand of the shore, their granaries approach heaven, and their grain-heaps are like mountains. There is joy and laudation <sup>12</sup>at seeing thee, (for) plenty of fish and fowl are under thy feet.<sup>c</sup> The South and North are satisfied with thy ka.<sup>c</sup> Heaven is given to thee and that which is in it; earth<sup>d</sup> is led to thee and that which is in it; <sup>e</sup>the pool comes to thee bearing its fowl.<sup>e</sup> Harsekha<sup>f</sup> <sup>13</sup>bears her provisions, the best of the ka of Re; Thoht has set them on thy every side, that thou mayest open thy mouth, to enrich whom thou pleasest, according as thou art the living Khnum, and thy dominion is in victory and might like (that of) Re when he ruled <sup>14</sup>the Two Lands, O King Ramses II, given life."

*Ptah Promises Mineral and Industrial Wealth*

405. "I cause the mountains to shape for thee great, mighty, perfected monuments; I cause the countries to fashion for thee [all] splendid, costly stone, for <sup>1</sup>employment<sup>d</sup> in monuments in thy name. <sup>15</sup>I make profitable for thee all works;<sup>g</sup> I cause all labor<sup>h</sup> to serve thee, everything that goes on two legs, (or) upon four legs, everything that flies, and all that soars. I put it into the heart of every land <sup>i</sup>to offer and to labor for thee<sup>i</sup> themselves;<sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup>chiefs, great and small,<sup>k</sup> with <sup>16</sup>one accord do profitable things for thy ka, King Ramses II, given life."

*Ramses' Residence City and its Buildings*

406. "Thou hast made an august residence, to make strong the boundary of the Two Lands (named): "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon-Given-Life," <sup>a</sup>that it may flourish on earth like the four pillars <sup>17</sup>of heaven — — — a sovereign therein, <sup>a</sup> that thou mayest celebrate the royal jubilees that I celebrated therein. I put on thy crown with my own two hands, when thou appearest upon the great double staircase. Men and gods acclaim thy name <sup>18b</sup>like mine when thou celebratest the royal jubilees. <sup>b</sup> Thou fashionest the statues, thou buildest their holy places as I <sup>c</sup> did at the first beginning."

*Ptah Promises Long Life and Prosperity*

407. "I give to thee years of royal jubilees, my rule, my place, my throne. I endow thy limbs with life, satisfaction and protection behind thee, <sup>d</sup>with <sup>19</sup>prosperity and health. I protect Egypt under thy authority, the Two Lands are diffused with the satisfying life of <sup>d</sup> Ramses II, given life."

*Ptah Promises Power*

408. "I have set for thee the might, victory, and strength of thy sword in every land, I have bound for thee the hearts of all lands, <sup>e</sup> <sup>20</sup>I have set them beneath thy feet. When thou appearest every day, <sup>f</sup> the captives of the Nine Bows <sup>f</sup> are brought to thee, the great chiefs of every land present to thee their children, I assign them to thy mighty sword, to do what thou pleasest with them, <sup>21</sup>O King Ramses II, given life. I have put thy terror in every heart, thy love in every body; I have set thy might in every country, thy fear encircles the mountains, and the

chiefs tremble at the mention of thee. Thy majesty flourishes, <sup>22</sup>steadfast as their head; they come to thee, crying out together, to crave peace from thee. Thou lettest live whom thou wilt, and thou slayest whom thou wilt. Lo, the throne of every land is under thy authority."

*Ptah the Author of Ramses' Prosperity*

409. "I cause to befall thee <sup>23</sup>thy <sup>a</sup>great<sup>a</sup> wonders, and every good thing to happen to thee. The Two Lands<sup>b</sup> under thee are in acclamation, Egypt flourishes, rejoicing, O Ramses II, given life. I have transferred my dignity to thee; thy great and marvelous <sup>24</sup>excellence approaches heaven; the Two Lands are in joy, they who are therein rejoice at that which has happened to thee. As for the mountains, the waters, and the buildings upon the land, they remove at thy good<sup>c</sup> name, when they behold this command."

*Visit of the Hittites*

410. "I have made <sup>25</sup>for thee the <sup>d</sup>land of Kheta<sup>d</sup> into subjects of thy palace; I have put it into their hearts to present themselves, with fearful steps to thy ka, bearing their impost which their chiefs have captured, all their possessions as tribute to <sup>26</sup>the fame of his majesty, L. P. H. His eldest daughter is in front thereof, to satisfy the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, King Ramses II, given life. 'It'<sup>e</sup> is a mysterious marvel; she knows not the excellent matter which I have done at thy desire, <sup>27</sup>that thy great name should be excellent forever. The success of the victorious hero is a great mystery for which he prays. It has not been heard since (the time of) the gods; the mysterious records have been in the house of books from the time of Re until thy majesty, <sup>28</sup>L. P. II., (but) the relation of Kheta in one accord with Egypt has not been known. Lo, it was commanded to slay them beneath thy feet, in order to make thy name live forever, O King Ramses II, given life."

*Reply of Ramses*

411. <sup>29</sup>Utterance of the divine king, Lord of the Two Lands, <sup>2</sup>lord of the form of<sup>a</sup> Khepri, in whose limbs is Re, who came forth from Re, whom Ptah-Tatenen begat, King Ramses II, given life; to his father, from whom he came forth, Tatenen, <sup>30</sup>father of the gods: "I am thy son whom thou hast placed upon thy throne. Thou hast assigned to me thy kingdom, thou hast fashioned me in thy likeness and thy form, which thou hast assigned to me and hast created. I shall do again every good thing that thou desirest, while I am sole lord, as thou wast, to settle the 'affairs'<sup>b</sup> of the land. I have created Egypt for thee anew, I have made it as at the beginning, I have wrought the gods' forms from thy limbs, even to their color and to their bodies; I have equipped Egypt according to their desire, I have built it up with <sup>32</sup>temples."

*Building of Memphis Temple*

412. "I have enlarged thy house in Memphis,<sup>c</sup> protected with everlasting works, with excellent labor, in stone, wrought with gold and genuine costly stones, I constructed thy forecourt <sup>33</sup>on the north with an august double façade before thee. Their doors are like the horizon of heaven, causing (even) strangers to praise thee. I made for thee an august temple in the midst of the inclosure. Thou god, 'whom I have' fashioned, art in its secret chapel, <sup>34</sup>resting upon its great throne."

*Endowment of Memphis Temple*

413. "It is equipped with priests, prophets, peasant-slaves, lands, and cattle. It is made festive with innumerable divine offerings consisting of all things. I have celebrated thy great feast of royal jubilees, <sup>35</sup>as thou commandest them me. All things that are, are brought to thee in great offerings, at thy desire: bulls (*wn-dw*), cattle beyond limit. I have brought all their number in millions; as for the fat thereof, it has reached heaven, and the dwellers in heaven have received it."

*Foreign Conquests*

414. <sup>36</sup>“ I have caused every land to see the beauty in the monuments which I have made for thee. I have branded the people of the Nine Bows and the whole land with thy name, they belong to thy ka, forever, for thou art the creator of them; by command of this thy son, who is upon thy throne, <sup>37</sup>lord of gods and men, sovereign celebrating the jubilees like thee [when thou] bearest the two sistrums, <sup>a</sup>son of the white crown, heir of the red crown,<sup>a</sup> possessing the Two Lands in peace, Ramses II, given life, forever and ever.”

II. MARRIAGE STELA<sup>b</sup>

415. This monument enables us to trace more fully the further relations between Egypt and the Hittites after the peace had been negotiated. A relief at the top shows the king of the Hittites and his daughter in the presence of Ramses. Before the daughter are the words: “*Matnefrure,*<sup>c</sup> *daughter of the chief of Kheta.*” A mutilated inscription accompanying the two visitors contained their words of praise to Ramses II. The beginning is entirely lost for five lines, where it proceeds:<sup>d</sup>

*Speech of King of Kheta*

Thou didst command the land of Kheta, thou takest captive the people — with all their possessions, the eldest<sup>e</sup> daughter being at their

head, to ——— before thy beautiful face. Thou commandest them — — under thy feet forever and ever, together with the whole land of Kheta. While thou shinest upon the throne of Re, every land is under [thy] feet, forever.

416. Below the relief is a long inscription of forty-one lines beginning with the date "*year 34*," Three-fourths (twenty-nine lines) of this inscription are devoted to an extravagant encomium of the Pharaoh, containing only the hackneyed phrases of conventional praise, relieved by two references to the defeat of Kheta. The last fourth of the document (ll. 30-41) then proceeds with an incident, of which the mutilated condition of the monument and the excessively inaccurate publication permit us to gain only the meagerest outline. After a reference to the treaty of peace, the king of the Hittites is represented as reverting to their defeat by Ramses, and he apparently proposes that they proceed to Egypt. This they do, bringing rich gifts, and the news soon reaches Ramses, who is filled with delight, and prepares to receive his visitors; the chiefs of Kheta, Kode, and "*the chiefs of every land*." He seems to be concerned for their arrival in the uncertainties of winter travel, and offers an oblation to Sutekh on their behalf. When finally, with the escort he had sent to meet them, they arrive in safety, they appear with the Hittite king's eldest daughter at their head, the troops of Egypt "*mingling with the foot and horse of Kheta*." A great feast seems to have been immediately held, where those who had once faced each other in combat now eat and drink together, while the Asiatic princes approach the Pharaoh in audience.

417. It is probably at this feast that the Hittite princess thus brought to Egypt was married to Ramses. The historical character of this marriage is further evidenced by the colossus of Ramses II at Tanis, attached to which is a statue of a queen bearing the inscription:<sup>a</sup>

“Great king’s-wife, mistress (*hn’t*) of the Two Lands: Matnefrure (*M’-t-n/r’w-R’*),<sup>a</sup> daughter of the great chief of Kheta.”

This inscription, therefore, renders unquestionable the main facts of the following narrative on the Marriage Stela.

*The Treaty of Peace*

418. <sup>30</sup>. . . . . The chief of Kheta sent, asking of me permanent<sup>b</sup> peace. Never did he — for them. Now [afterward]<sup>1</sup> . . . . . <sup>31</sup>under the great fame of the Lord of the Two Lands, King Ramses (II).

*The Chief of Kheta Counsels with His Officers*

419. Then spake the chief of the land of Kheta to his [army]<sup>1c</sup> and his nobles, saying: “Now is our land devastated; Sutekh [is]<sup>1</sup> our lord to [protect us]<sup>1</sup>, (but) [he has]<sup>1</sup> not . . . . . <sup>32</sup>fighting with them. We have been taken captive with all our possessions; my eldest daughter being before them<sup>d</sup> . . . . .”

*They Proceed with Gifts to Egypt*

420. Then they [came]<sup>1</sup> with [their] possessions, and [their] splendid [gifts]<sup>1</sup> before <sup>33</sup>them, of silver and gold, marvels many and great, horses to — them, — living things . . . . .

*The News Reaches Ramses*

421. . . . . to delight the heart of his majesty, saying: “Behold, the great chief of Kheta comes, <sup>34</sup>bringing his eldest daughter, bearing much tribute, being everything . . . . . The chief of Kheta, together with the chief of [Kode<sup>e</sup> and people]<sup>1</sup> of Kheta, are bringing them. They have traversed many mountains and difficult ways, that they



might reach the boundaries of his majesty. . . . <sup>35</sup>. . . . .” His majesty received the ‘word’ — — [in] the palace, with joy of heart.

*Ramses Makes Preparations to Receive Them*

422. When he heard such strange and unexpected matters . . . . . he commanded <sup>36</sup>the army and the princes to receive in front of them in haste.

*Ramses’ Sacrifices to Sutekh for Good Weather*

423. Then his majesty took counsel [for] the army<sup>a</sup> with his own heart, saying: “What are these newcomers like! When there goes not a messenger<sup>b</sup> to Zahi (*D<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>*) in these days of flood <sup>37</sup>on the upper ‘heights’<sup>c</sup> in winter.”<sup>d</sup> Then [he] offered an oblation for [—] and for Sutekh. Then he came [pray]ing, saying: “Heaven is — and earth is under [thy feet]. That which thou commandest is all that happens. Thou — to make the flood and the cold upon the ‘heights’ . . . . . <sup>38</sup>. . . . . which thou hast assigned to me, King Ramses (II).” Then his father, Sutekh, heard every [wor]d . . . . .

*Arrival of Ramses’ Escort with the Visitors*

424. . . . . his army came, their limbs being sound, and they were long in stride <sup>39</sup>. . . . . The daughter of the great chief of Kheta marched in [front] of the army . . . . . of his majesty in following her. They were mingled with foot and horse of Kheta; they were <sup>40</sup>warriors<sup>e</sup> as well as regulars; they ate and they drank [not] fighting face to face . . . . . between them, after the manner of the

god himself, King Ramses (II). The great chiefs of every land came; they were bowed down, turning back in fear, when they saw [his majesty; the chief of] Kheta [came] among them, [to seek the favor] of King Ramses (II).

### III. MESSAGE OF THE CHIEF OF KHETA TO THE CHIEF OF KODE<sup>a</sup>

425. This poetic fragment perhaps indicates that Ramses II invited the chief of Kheta and other Asiatic chiefs, at least the chief of Kode, to Egypt, and this invitation a court poet of course regards as a command (Poem below, l. 2). To this invitation the Abu Simbel stela (§§ 415-24) makes no reference, and the whole ten-line poem, being of course only the fancy of a court poet to embellish his description of the glories of Ramses' capitol, to which the Hittite visitors came, may have no foundation in fact. Such a visit, however, and the marriage alliance which it consummated, as we know from the Amarna Letters, must have occasioned much preliminary correspondence, of which this poem offers us a hint.

426. The great chief (*wr-<sup>c</sup>*) of Kheta sent to the chief (*wr*) of Kode (saying):

"Equip thyself that we may proceed to Egypt,  
That we may say: 'The behest of the god comes to pass;'  
Let us make overtures to Ramses II, L. P. H.,  
For he gives breath to whom he will,  
And every country lies at his disposition.  
Kheta is in his power alone,  
If the god accepts not his offering,  
It (Kheta) sees no rain,<sup>b</sup>  
For it is in the power of Ramses (II), L. P. H.,  
The Bull, loving valor."

IV. COPTOS STELA<sup>a</sup>

427. This document recorded the visit to Egypt of a number of the Asiatic princes bearing gifts for the Pharaoh. It is a visit precisely like that of the Hittite king (§ 410) and his neighbors, and reference is made to "*his other daughter*," as if another princess were being brought to Ramses in marriage. As the mention of this princess occurs directly after a reference to Keshkesh, one of the allies of the Hittite king; as the envoys are later (l. 13) said to be "*the children of the great chiefs of the land of Kheta*," and as there is a reference to a coming "*to Egypt for the second time*," this may possibly be the account of Ramses' marriage to a second Hittite princess. The pious priests attribute both the visit and the gifts, to the gods (l. 9), and particularly, among the gods of Egypt, to Ptah, precisely as is done in the Blessing of Ptah in referring to the visit of the Hittite king with his daughter (§ 410, l. 25).

428. <sup>3b</sup>———— [chiefs of]<sup>c</sup> all countries conveying their tribute, <sup>4</sup>———— of much gold, of much silver, of all costly stones, <sup>5</sup>———— very many captives of Keshkesh (*Kš-kš*), many captives <sup>6</sup>[of] ———— in writing for King Ramses (II) <sup>7</sup>———— many [herds] of goats, many herds of small cattle<sup>d</sup> before his other daughter <sup>8</sup>———— Ramses II, given life, to Egypt for the second time. It was not troops who brought them; it was not <sup>9</sup>———— [the gods] of the land of Egypt,

the gods of every country, while they caused the great chiefs of every country to convey <sup>10</sup>—— their — themselves to King Ramses (II), given life. <sup>11</sup>—— to convey their gold, to convey their silver, to convey their vessels of green <sup>12</sup>[stone to King] Ramses (II), given life; to bring their herds of horses, to bring their herds of <sup>13</sup>—— their herds of goats, to bring their herds of large cattle. The children of the great chiefs of the land of Kheta <sup>14</sup>came<sup>a</sup> bearing them themselves, from the boundaries of the lands of King Ramses (II), given life, <sup>15</sup>—— themselves. It was not a prince who came to bring them, it was not the infantry who came to bring them, it was not the chariotry who came to bring them, it was not <sup>16</sup>the [mercenaries] who went to bring them; it was Ptah, father of the gods, who has put all lands, and all countries under the feet of this Good God, forever and ever.

#### V. BENTRESH STELA<sup>b</sup>

429. It is clear that the visit of the Hittite king to Egypt was for the purpose of personally presenting his daughter to Ramses II in marriage. This marriage made a great impression upon the people, and the story of it circulated among them as the introduction to a legend which had grown up from another incident closely connected with the marriage. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, Dushratta, king of Mitanni, sent to Egypt the goddess Ishtar of Ninevah, in the year 35 or 36 of Amenhotep III,<sup>c</sup> doubtless for the sake

of the old king's health;<sup>a</sup> she had likewise gone to Egypt in the time of Dushratta's father. The chief of Kheta sent in like manner to Egypt, desiring that Khonsu be brought to Kheta for the purpose of healing his daughter, the younger sister of Ramses' queen, Matnefrure. This was done,<sup>b</sup> and although no contemporary record of the incident has survived, it gradually found place among the folk-tales of the time.

430. Some eight or nine hundred years later, in Persian or early Greek times, the priests of Khonsu at Thebes determined to record the story to the greater glory of their god. They put the current tale into language as archaic as they could command, and engraved it upon a stela, which is now our source for the document.<sup>c</sup> In doing this they evidently found some difficulty. The current version, of course, spoke of the king only as Ramses or Ramses-Meriamon. The priests, desiring to lend an official air to their stela, attempted to prefix to the king's name his full titulary, and in doing so used that of Thutmose IV! Nor was their knowledge sufficient to correct the errors or remove the absurdities of the popular version of the story. They consistently carry through seventeen months as the length of time necessary to go from Egypt to Bekhten<sup>d</sup> (*Bhtn*), a land otherwise unknown; Nefrure, a corruption of Matnefrure, the real name of the Hittite chief's daughter; a date before the year 23 for the marriage of Matnefrure, which

really took place in the year 34—these and other errors, which will be evident to the reader, were calmly accepted by the priestly editors. Incidentally, this document therefore shows clearly how utterly ignorant of earlier Egyptian history were these late priests; and suggests caution in the use of the priest Manetho's work, who lived at about the time when this tale was put into writing.

431. The upper fourth of the stela is occupied by a relief, showing on either side the two sacred barques of the Khonsu's borne on the shoulders of priests. That on the right is Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, to whom Ramses II is offering incense; while that on the left belongs to "*Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, Great God, Smiter of Evil Spirits.*" Before him his priest, offering incense, is accompanied by the inscription:

432. The name of the prophet, priest of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, is Khonsubetneterneb (*Hnsw-h<sup>3</sup> t-ntr-nb<sup>3</sup> t*, sic!).<sup>a</sup>

Below the relief is the long inscription, as follows:

#### *Introduction*

433. <sup>1</sup>Horus: Mighty Bull, Likeness of Diadems, Abiding in Kingship, like Atum; Golden Horus: Mighty of Strength, Expelling the Nine Bows;<sup>b</sup> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re, of his Body: Ramses-Meriamon, <sup>2</sup>beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and all the gods of Thebes. . . .  
4. . . . .<sup>c</sup>

#### *Tribute in Naharin*

434. Lo, his majesty was in Naharin (*N-h-r-[n]*) according to his yearly custom, while the chiefs of every country came bowing down in

peace, because of the fame of his majesty. From the marshes<sup>a</sup> was their tribute; silver, gold, lapis lazuli, <sup>5</sup>malachite and every sweet wood of God's-Land were upon their backs, each one leading his neighbor.

*Marriage of Ramses and Chief of Bekhten's Daughter*

435. Then the chief of Bekhten (*Bhtn*) caused his tribute to be brought, and he placed his eldest daughter in front thereof,<sup>b</sup> praising his majesty, and craving life from him. Now, <sup>6</sup>she was exceedingly beautiful to the heart of his majesty, beyond everything. Then they affixed<sup>c</sup> her titulary as: "Great King's-Wife, Nefrure (*Nfr'w-R*)."<sup>d</sup> When his majesty arrived in Egypt, she fulfilled all the functions of king's-wife.

*Arrival of the Messenger from Bekhten*

436. When the year 23, the tenth month, the twenty-second day, came, while his majesty was in Thebes, the victorious, the mistress of cities, performing <sup>7</sup>the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, at his beautiful feast of Southern Opet (Luxor), his favorite seat, of the beginning (of the world), came one to say to his majesty: "A messenger of the chief of Bekhten has come, bearing many gifts for the King's-Wife." Then he was brought <sup>8</sup>before his majesty together with his gifts. He said, praising his majesty: "Praise to thee, Sun of the Nine Bows! Give us life from thee." So spake he, smelling the earth before his majesty. He spake again before his majesty: "I come to thee, <sup>9</sup>O king, my lord, on account of Bentresh (*B-n-t-r-š*), thy great<sup>e</sup> sister of the King's-Wife, Nefrure. Sickness has penetrated into<sup>f</sup> her limbs. May thy majesty send a wise man to see her."

*Dispatch of the Wise Man to Bekhten*

437. Then said his majesty: "Bring to me the sacred scribes<sup>a</sup> and the officials <sup>10</sup>of the court." They were led to him immediately. Said his majesty: "Let one read to you, till ye hear this thing. Then bring to me one experienced in his heart, who can write with his fingers, from your midst." The king's-scribe, <sup>11</sup>Thutemhab,<sup>b</sup> came before his majesty, and his majesty commanded that he go to Bekhten together with this messenger.

*Arrival of the Wise Man in Bekhten*

438. The wise man arrived in Bekhten; he found Bentresh in the condition of one possessed of a spirit. He found <sup>12</sup>her<sup>c</sup> [unable<sup>d</sup>] to contend with him.

*Message of the Chief of Bekhten to Ramses*

439. The chief of Bekhten repeated in the presence of his majesty,<sup>d</sup> saying: "O king, my lord, let his majesty command to have this god brought ———." <sup>e</sup> [Then the wise man whom his majesty had sent, returned<sup>g</sup>] <sup>13</sup>to his majesty in the year 26, the ninth month, at the feast of Amon,<sup>f</sup> while his majesty was in Thebes.



*Ramses' Interview with the Two Khonsu's*

440. Then his majesty repeated (it) before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, saying: "O my good lord, I repeat before thee concerning the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." <sup>14</sup>Then they led Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest to Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits. Then said his majesty before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest: "O thou good lord, if thou inclinest thy face to Khonsu-<sup>15</sup>the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits, he shall be conveyed to Bekhten." There was violent nodding. Then said his majesty: "Send thy protection with him, that I may cause his majesty<sup>a</sup> to go to Bekhten, to save the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." <sup>16</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest nodded the head violently. Then he wrought the protection of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, four times.

*Departure of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker*

441. His majesty commanded to cause Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to proceed to a great ship, five transports (*kḳḳ*), numerous chariots <sup>17</sup>and horses of the west and the east.

*Arrival of the God in Bekhten*

442. This god arrived in Bekhten in a full year and five months. Then the chief of Bekhten came, with his soldiers and his nobles, before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker. He threw himself <sup>18</sup>upon his belly, saying: "Thou comest to us, thou art welcome with us, by command of the King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)."

*Cure of Bentresh*

443. Then this god went to the place where Bentresh was. Then he wrought the protection of the daughter of the chief of Bekhten. She became well <sup>19</sup>immediately.

*Conciliation of the Spirit*

444. Then said this spirit which was in her before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "Thou comest in peace, thou great god, smiting the barbarians. Thy city is Bekhten, thy servants are its people, I am thy servant. <sup>20</sup>I will go to the place whence I came, to satisfy thy

heart concerning that, on account of which thou comest. (But) let thy majesty command to celebrate a feast-day with me and with the chief of Bekhten." Then this god nodded to his priest, saying: <sup>21</sup>"Let the chief of Bekhten make a great offering before this spirit." While these things were happening, which Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes wrought with the spirit, the chief of Bekhten stood with his soldiers, and feared very greatly. Then <sup>22</sup>he made a great offering before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes and the spirit; and the chief of Bekhten celebrated a feast-day 'with' them. Then the spirit departed in peace to the place he desired, by command of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, <sup>23</sup>and the chief of Bekhten rejoiced very greatly, together with every man who was in Bekhten.

#### *Retention of the God in Bekhten*

445. Then he took counsel with his heart, saying: "I will cause this god to remain with me in Bekhten; I will not permit that he return to Egypt." <sup>24</sup>Then this god tarried three years and nine months in Bekhten.

#### *Vision of the Chief of Bekhten*

Then the chief of Bekhten slept upon his bed, and he saw this god coming to him, to forsake his shrine; he was a hawk of gold, and he flew upward toward Egypt. <sup>25</sup>He (the chief) awoke in fright.

#### *Departure of the God for Egypt*

446. Then he said to the priest of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "This god, he is still with us; let him depart to Egypt; let his chariot depart to Egypt." <sup>26</sup>Then the chief of Bekhten caused this god to proceed to Egypt, and gave to him very many gifts of every good thing, very many soldiers and horses.

#### *Arrival of the God in Egypt*

447. They arrived in peace at Thebes. Then came the city of Thebes, and <sup>27</sup>the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes <sup>27</sup>to the house of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest. He set the gifts which the chief of Bekhten had given to him, of good things, before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, (but) he gave not every thing thereof into his house. Khonsu-the-

Plan-Maker-in-Thebes arrived <sup>28</sup>[at] his [plac]e in peace in the year 33, the second month, the ninth day,<sup>a</sup> of King Usermare-Setepnere; that he might be given life like Re, forever.

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#### NUBIAN WARS AND REFERENCES TO NORTHERN WARS

448. The temples of Nubia contain many references of an indefinite character to Ramses II's Nubian wars, from which it is impossible to gain any idea of them, the localities conquered, or the date of the campaigns. These references are often so mingled with those of the northern wars against the Asiatics and Libyans that it is not possible to separate and classify them all. They are continued through the temples of Egypt also.<sup>b</sup> Of the Libyan war we learn little more than the fact, though the Tanis Stela furnishes an important hint of an alliance of the Libyans with the Sherden and a naval battle<sup>c</sup> (§ 491). To our knowledge of

the Asiatic wars nothing definite is added. The materials are:

- I. Abu Simbel Temple (§§ 449-57).
- II. Bet el-Walli Temple (§§ 458-77).
- III. Assuan Stela (§§ 478, 479).
- IV. Luxor Temple (§§ 480-84).
- V. Abydos Temple (§§ 485, 486).
- VI. Tanis Stelæ (§§ 487-91).

#### I. ABU SIMBEL TEMPLE

449. The following scenes<sup>a</sup> in the great temple at Abu Simbel contain references to Ramses II's Asiatic wars, a war against the Libyans, and the Nubian war.

##### *Scene<sup>b</sup>*

450. Ramses II, with bow and sword in hand, rides slowly in his chariot, evidently accompanying his army on the march. Beside his horses runs his tame lion, while an orderly with bow, quiver, and staff, his sandals strung on his arm, marches at the horses' heads. Before them are driven two lines of bound Negro prisoners.

##### *Inscription*

451. Good God [—], who smites the south, who crushes the north; king, fighting with his sword, carrying off the furthest ends<sup>c</sup> of those who transgress his inviolable [places]. When his majesty arrives in the countries, he overthrows myriads; he desolates them. He has — Retenu, slaying their chiefs; he causes the Negroes to say: "Away! He is like flame, when it comes forth, and there is no water to quench

it." He makes the rebels to cease the contradiction which their mouths offered, when he took them.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

452. Ramses II, with bow in hand, leads two lines of captive Negroes, and presents them to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu.

*Inscription over Ramses and Negroes*

453. The bringing of the tribute, by the Good God, to his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, after his arrival from the country of Kush, overthrowing the rebellious countries, crushing the Asiatics in their place; consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone, according as he decreed for him might and victory against every country.

The wretched chiefs of Kush, whom his majesty brought from his victories in the country of Kush, in order to fill the storehouse of his august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, according as he gave might against the south, victory against the north, forever and ever.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

454. Ramses II, with drawn bow, stands in his chariot, charging a Syrian city, situated on a hill. The inhabitants on the city walls are nearly all pierced with arrows; just outside, a fleeing Syrian drives off his cattle to refuge in the city. Behind Ramses, three princes dash forward, each in his chariot.

*Inscription over Ramses*

455. Good God, valiant son of Amon, lord of the sword, protector of his army [in] battle, mighty in strength, knowing where to place his hand, firm in the chariot like the lord of Thebes, lord of victory, fighting millions, mighty Bull among multitudes, piercing through the allies,

crushing the rebellious upon the mountains; they enter into their valleys like grasshoppers. Thou makest the sword to cut off their place, 'where' thy enemies come forth, O king, mighty of sword.

*Over Three Princes*

456. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenhirkhepeshef.

King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Ramses.

King's-son, of his body, his beloved Perehirunamef.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

457. Ramses II, standing over a fallen Libyan, hurls backward another Libyan, whom he is thrusting through with his spear.

*Inscription*

The Good God, slaying the Nine Bows, crushing the countries of the north, — valiant in the countries, a mighty swordman, like Montu, bringing the land of the Negroes to the land of the north, the Asiatics (<sup>c</sup> *m'w*) to the land of Nubia. He has placed the Shasu (<sup>š</sup> *-s* <sup>2</sup>) into the land of —, he has settled the Tehenu on the heights, filling the strongholds, which he built, with the captivity of his mighty sword, 'slaying' Kharu (<sup>h</sup> *-rw*), 'wasting' Retenu (*Rtnw*), which his sword overthrew.

II. BET EL-WALLI TEMPLE<sup>b</sup>

458. The impressive reliefs in this temple represent the northern and southern wars of Ramses II: the northern wars, against Asiatics and Libyans, are on the northern wall of the forecourt, and the southern wars, against the

Nubians, are on the southern wall. Thus each series indicates by its position the locality where the wars it depicts took place. In each series the movement of events is toward the temple door, where the king sits in both final scenes, receiving the captives from his wars.

#### I. NORTHERN WARS

**459.** The scenes in this series are chiefly, if not exclusively, symbolical, and therefore do not depict specific events. They were evidently devised to form a pendant to the other series on the southern wall, which does depict an actual Nubian campaign.

##### *Scene<sup>a</sup>*

**460.** Ramses II, charging in his chariot, leans over and seizes two of the enemy by the turban, and cuts them down with his sword; before him the mass of the enemy flees. They are bearded, and are undoubtedly Semites.

##### *Inscription*

**461.** ——— valiant son of Amon, lord of the sword, protector of his army in battle, mighty against — — — his hand, firm in the chariot, like the lord of Thebes, ——— victorious, fighting millions, mighty Bull among myriads, ——— smiting the rebellious ———.

##### *Scene<sup>b</sup>*

**462.** A symbolic scene showing an Asiatic city, on the walls of which the inhabitants gather, with hands uplifted, beseeching mercy. The city chief or petty prince in the citadel is seized by the gigantic Ramses, who stands over him with upraised sword. A prince (with sidelock) advances to the gate with a battle axe.

*Inscriptions*

463. The inscriptions have all perished<sup>a</sup> except the words of the captured chief:

*By the Citadel*

Said the wretched chief,<sup>b</sup> in magnifying the Lord of the Two Lands:  
 “— — — there is no other like Baal, O ruler, his real son, forever.”

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

464. Ramses II slays with the sword a Libyan<sup>d</sup> whom he has seized by the hair and forced to the knees. A hound leaps upon the Libyan’s hip. Approaching Ramses in front, with uplifted arms, are two rows of officials, now almost vanished.

*Inscription behind Ramses*

465. O Good God, great in terror, victorious lion, lord of the sword, embracing the rebellious lands of Tehenu (*Tḥnw*); thy sword has overthrown the Nine Bows, slaying him who is beneath thy sandals, like Re, every [day] forever and ever.

*Before Officials, Upper Row*

466. Said the princes who are in the presence of his majesty, in magnifying the Lord of the Two Lands: “— — — [migh]ty in valor, victorious when thou hast shown thy might among the rebellious — — the sun shines not because of thy rage therein . . . . . ———.”

*Before Official, Lower Row*

467. Said the fan-bearer on the right of the king, prince, — real king’s-scribe, his beloved, king’s-son, Amenhirunamēf, in [‘celebrating’]



the praise of his lord, in magnifying his might: "———— in the countries. Thou hast slain their chiefs ————."

*Over Hound*

Anath (ꜥ nty)-is-Protection.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

468. Ramses II, standing, battle axe and bow in hand, grasps three Syrians by the hair, as they kneel before him. A king's-son (from his dress), doubtless Amenhirunamef, leads up a line of prisoners, consisting of a Libyan and three Asiatics.

*Inscriptions*

469. The inscriptions have all disappeared except two short lines:

*Behind Ramses*

Thy might and thy victory are in all lands and all countries; thy terror is in their hearts.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

470. Ramses II, enthroned in state, with his tame lion by his side, gives audience to his vizier (from the costume), followed by six officers; and to his son, Amenhirunamef, leading Asiatic prisoners.

*Inscription before Vizier*

471. Said the princes, who are in the presence of his majesty: "Praise to thee, O good and amiable ruler, son of Amon, who came forth from his limbs. When thou camest forth upon earth, thou wast like Re on high . . . . .<sup>c</sup> Black land (Egypt) and Red land (desert)

are under thy sandals; Palestine and Kush are in thy grasp. Egypt rejoices, O 'good' ruler, because thou hast extended their borders, forever."

*Over King's-Son*

The fan-bearer on the right of the king, prince, real king's-scribe, his beloved, Amenhirunamef.

II. SOUTHERN WAR

472. This series evidently depicts particular events in Ramses II's Nubian war. When this war took place it is difficult to say with certainty,<sup>a</sup> but it was under the administration of Amenemopet as viceroy of Kush, and must, therefore, have fallen in the first half of Ramses' reign.<sup>b</sup> The scene of the war is equally uncertain. The three lists<sup>c</sup> of conquered Nubian countries consist of unfamiliar names, from which little can be obtained as to the locality of the war. Brugsch thinks that the Abu Simbel list does not extend above Napata.<sup>d</sup>

*Scene<sup>e</sup>*

473. Ramses, standing in his chariot with drawn bow, charges the Negroes, who flee in a horde before him into a palm grove, in which two Negroes lead away a wounded

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comrade to his family. Behind him charge two princes in their chariots.<sup>a</sup>

*Inscriptions*

474. An inscription over the enemy has disappeared, except the words: “——— *those who transgress his boundaries.*” Two others have survived:<sup>b</sup>

*Over First Prince*

Said the fan-bearer on the right of the king, the hereditary prince, the king's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenhirunamef: “. . . . . in the South; I rejoice, my heart is joyful, (for) my father smites his enemies; he puts forth the might of his strength against the Nine Bows.”

*Over Second Prince*

The king's-son, of his body, his beloved, the divine water that came forth from the Mighty Bull, Khamwese.

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

475. On the right sits Ramses enthroned; approaching from the left are two long lines of Negroes, bringing furniture of ebony and ivory, panther hides, gold in large rings, bows, myrrh, shields, elephants' tusks, billets of ebony, ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, live animals, including monkeys, panthers, a giraffe, ibexes, a dog, oxen with carved horns, an ostrich. At the end are also two Negro women, one carrying her children in a basket. Led by two Egyptians

at the head of the lower line are two bound Negroes. The lower line is introduced by the vizier, and two officials, followed by the viceroy of Kush, bearing a table hung with skins and decorated with flowers. At the head of the upper row (which represents the scene a moment after that of the lower row) is the king's-son, Amenhirunamef, presenting the gifts which together with the splendid table have been placed on the ground. Behind the table which he has just set down appears the viceroy of Kush, receiving decorations for good service.

### *Inscriptions*

476. Behind Ramses are four columns containing an elaborate titulary, in which is the phrase: "*making boundaries as he pleases in Retenu.*" The other texts are brief and fragmentary.

#### *Over Viceroy of Kush, Lower Row*

477. King's-son of Kush, Amenemopet, son of Peser, triumphant.

#### *Over King's-Son, Top Row*

The fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, real king's-scribe, his beloved, hereditary prince, first king's-son, of his body, Amenhirunamef, triumphant, revered (sic!).

#### *Over Viceroy of Kush, Top Row*

King's-son of Kush, Amenemopet, son of Peser, triumphant.

### III. ASSUAN STELA<sup>a</sup>

478. This monument contains only a fulsome eulogy of Ramses II, in which reference is made to all his wars. Its position at the Nubian frontier would indicate that it was

erected on some Nubian expedition of Ramses II, and its date, "*year 2*," may, therefore, be that of the Nubian war, recorded at Bet el-Walli.

479. 1. Year 2, eleventh month, twenty-sixth<sup>a</sup> day, under the majesty of <sup>2</sup>Ramses II,<sup>b</sup> beloved of Amon-Re, king of Gods, and Khnum, lord of the cataract region.

<sup>3</sup>Live the Good God, Montu of millions, mighty like the son of Nut, fighting for <sup>4</sup>—, strong-hearted lion. He has overthrown <sup>5</sup>myriads in the space of a moment; great wall of his army in the day of battle, whose fear has penetrated all lands. <sup>6</sup>Egypt rejoices when the ruler is among them (i. e., the lands); he has extended its boundaries forever, plundering the Asiatics (*St' tyw*) and capturing their cities. <sup>7</sup>He has crushed the foreigners of the north, the Temeh<sup>c</sup> have fallen for fear of him, the Asiatics are anxious for breath from him, <sup>8</sup>who sends Egypt on campaigns; their hearts are filled with his designs, as they sit in the shadow of his sword, and <sup>9</sup>they fear not any country. He plunders the warriors (<sup>c</sup> *h' w*) of the sea, the great lake of the north, while they lie sleeping. <sup>10</sup>A vigilant king, accurate in design; there fails not anything that he has said. The foreigners come to him carrying their children, to ask <sup>11</sup>the breath of life; his battle-cry is mighty <sup>12</sup>in the land of Nubia (*T' -pd' t*), his strength repels the Nine Bows; Babylon (*S' -[n]g' -r'*), Kheta and A— (<sup>13</sup>—)<sup>d</sup> come to him, bowing down, because of his fame.

#### IV. LUXOR TEMPLE

480. Besides the reliefs and inscriptions relating to the battle of Kadesh (§§ 305–51), the Luxor temple contains a number of references to Ramses II's wars, conquests, and relations with foreign countries. On a granite statue,<sup>e</sup> under a list of northern and southern countries, is the usual statement of the extent of Pharaoh's power, including the

*"Great Circle (šn wr), the sea, the southern countries of the land of the Negro as far as the marsh lands, as far as the limits of the darkness, even to the four pillars of heaven."*

481. More important is a scene among the reliefs which portrays the presentation of annual dues<sup>a</sup> by the king's sons and the chief officials of the kingdom. These dues consist of both "*tribute*" (*yn-w*) and taxes or impost (*bk-w*), besides "*dues*" (*hsb-t*); and they come from Nubia, Asia, and Egypt. At the head of the procession are seventeen sons of Ramses, of whom the first four are:

482. 1. Hereditary prince, king's-son, crown prince, of his body, commander in chief of the army, Amonhirkhepeshef.

2. King's-son, of his body, commander of the army<sup>b</sup> of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses.

3. Captain of archers, master of horse, Perehirunamef.<sup>c</sup>

4. Khamwese.

483. These are all well known elsewhere, especially Khamwese, as they took part in the king's wars (§ 362). The thirteenth in the row is Merneptah, who, on the death of his twelve elder brothers and his father, became king.

Behind the princes is a line of men bearing "*des offrandes, conduisant des bœufs à cornes singulières comme à Abydos.*" Above them all is an inscription, designating them as:

484. The hereditary prince [of the palace], king's-son, crown prince; [the king's-sons], the grandees of the palace [—<sup>d</sup>] their lord, their father, Ramses II, given life. The governors of the city and

viziers,<sup>a</sup> companions, treasurers of the palace, overseers of the silver- and gold-house, commanders of the army, commanders of 'infantry' (*mn/y' t*), captains of archers, 'master builders', governors of southern and northern countries, chief treasurers, chief mayors, stewards, leaders of leaders, and town commandants, overseers of horns,<sup>b</sup> overseers of hoofs,<sup>b</sup> overseers of feathers,<sup>b</sup> '—' of Egypt, the marshal of the two thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt, the counts, and superior prophets, coming with bowed head, bearing their tribute of the impost of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-p'd' t*), every product of Asiatic countries, the dues (*h'sb' t*) of Egypt, to behold the beauty of their lord, King Ramses II.

#### V. ABYDOS TEMPLE<sup>c</sup>

485. Ramses II's mortuary temple at Abydos, as we have already noted, contains reliefs from the Kadesh series (§ 328), as well as a copy of the Kadesh poem (§§ 305-15). Besides these, the mortuary reliefs also contain references to his wars.<sup>d</sup> These reliefs show a long procession of priests and officers, bringing an immense and varied array of offerings for Ramses II's mortuary temple, in which these reliefs appear. Like others of their class, these scenes are of purely religious and mortuary significance, except the last.<sup>e</sup> This represents a section of the procession headed by a superb bull, and an ibex; these animals, with their attendants and some lesser offerings, face a long procession in a double line of Egyptian troops who are summoned by a

trumpeter. Four men at the head of the troops are followed by a royal span drawing an empty chariot, accompanied by an orderly with sandals strung on his arm as usual. Behind the troops who follow the chariot are Negroes, Asiatics, Puntites, and perhaps Libyans. Over the whole is an inscription in one long line, the beginning of which is very fragmentary; scattered among the figures were also some inscriptions, most of which have now disappeared:

*Over Chariot Horses*

486. Great span of his majesty, L. P. H., (named): "Beloved-  
\_\_\_\_\_"

*Over Asiatics*

Chiefs of the countries \_\_\_\_\_.

*Long Inscription*

.....<sup>a</sup> Utterance of the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon: "O ye Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, who shall come after, who shall assume the double crown upon the throne of Horus, who shall desire Abydos, region of eternity; may your ka's exist for you without ceasing, may your time be happy like my time, may the full Nile come for you at his season, may valor be yours without flinching, like the victories of my sword in every country, may ye take captive those that rebel against Egypt, may ye put those whom ye capture in them, into my august temple. Lo, as for a king, he is the divine seed,<sup>b</sup> while he is a dweller in heaven, as when he was on earth; he assumes the forms, which he desires, like the Moon-god. Establish ye the offerings of this my temple of Osiris, whose august image rests therein, the divine ennead which follows him, being united at his side; (then) shall favors be craved from them, making sound your limbs. An excellent reward shall be his who doeth it, according as ye protect my house for its gods, and hearken to the Good God, Ramses II, given life."



## VI. TANIS STELÆ

487. The Tanis temple contained at least four large granite stelæ commemorating Ramses II's prowess in war. Of two<sup>a</sup> of these only insignificant fragments have survived; and the third<sup>b</sup> contains a conventional encomium much mutilated. At the end was the narrative of some specific event, of which the following is discernible:

He (Ramses II) said to the king's-messenger ——— fortresses equipped with everything for ———.

488. The fourth stela<sup>c</sup> is almost entirely the conventional praise of the king's valor; but the last three lines contained a reference to rebellious Sherden and ships of war, which would indicate a naval battle in connection with the Libyan war, with whom the Sherden were, of course, allied.

*Ramses' Valor*

489. <sup>1</sup>Live the Horus, Mighty Bull . . . . . Ramses (II), given life, <sup>2</sup>forever, victorious king, valiant in the array, mighty, fighting myriads, overthrowing on his right, slaying on his left, like Set in his hour of rage, <sup>3</sup>mighty Bull, shaking every opposing country with the victories of his sword; protector of Egypt, repulsing the Nine Bows. Every land fears before him; he is like <sup>4</sup>a lion when he has tasted combat; no land can stand before him, King Ramses II; charging into the array, <sup>5</sup>he turns not back, he is the first of the front rank of his army; valiant upon the steed, when he takes his bow, shooting on his right, and he who stands in the rear<sup>d</sup> escapes him not; mighty in strength, <sup>6</sup>with victorious arm, bearing the mace and the shield; crushing the chiefs beneath his feet; no one is able to sustain the combat, every country flees before him, the terror of him is like fire behind them.<sup>e</sup>

*Triumphs in Asia and Nubia*

490. <sup>7</sup>King Ramses II, given life; capturing the lands of the Asiatics (*St'tyw*) with his sword, carrying off their chiefs as living captives; <sup>8</sup>great ruler, — — — — by the might of his youthful strength; <sup>9</sup>brave-hearted before the mighty, valiant like Montu, defender of the land, <sup>9</sup>husband of Egypt, rescuing her from every country. His fame is mighty in — — — — the land of the Negro, with valor, slaying the Troglodytes of wretched Kush <sup>10</sup>in the victories of his mighty sword. He causes Egypt to be joyful, and sets gladness of heart in Tomeri (Egypt), King [Ramses II] ———; <sup>11</sup>plundering the chiefs of the Asiatics in their land. He has wasted the inheritance of —, making them to be ———, <sup>12</sup>slain under his feet, whose great sword is mighty among them.

*Triumphs in the West*

491. He has captured the countries of the West, causing them to be as that which [is] not ——— <sup>13</sup>[Sute]kh on his right, of the battle, King Ramses II. [He] has ferried over<sup>b</sup> ——— [come] <sup>14</sup>to him, bearing their tribute; [his] fear [penetrates] their heart. The rebellious-hearted Sherden<sup>c</sup> (*Š<sup>3</sup> -r<sup>3</sup> -d-ny*) ——— <sup>15</sup>them; mighty — — — — ships of war in the midst of the [sea] <sup>16</sup>——— before them.

## BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

492. Although the name of Ramses II is more widely found upon the monuments of Egypt than that of any other king, no comprehensive building record of his, such as those

of the Eighteenth Dynasty, has survived to us. The great inscription of Abydos concerns almost solely Seti I's temple there, which is chiefly the work of Seti himself. The account of Ramses I's buildings preserved in his inscriptions is therefore but a slight indication of the vast extent of his building achievements; and this fact must be clearly borne in mind, in using the following inscriptions.<sup>a</sup>

493. They comprise:

I. Great Temple of Abu Simbel (§§ 495-99).

II. Small Temple of Abu Simbel (§§ 500, 501).

III. Temple of Serreh (§ 502).

IV. Temple of Derr (§ 503).

V. Temple of Sebû<sup>c</sup> a (§ 504).

VI. Temple of el Kab (§ 505).

VII. Temple of Luxor (§§ 506-8).

VIII. Temple of Karnak (§§ 509-13).

IX. The Ramesseum (§§ 514, 515).

X. Temple of Kurna (§§ 516-22).

XI. Seti I's Temple at Abydos and Great Abydos Inscription (§§ 262-77).

XII. Ramses II's Temple at Abydos (§§ 524-29).

XIII. Memphis Temples (§§ 530-37) and further:

1. Great Abydos Inscription (§ 260, l. 22).

2. Blessing of Ptah (§§ 412-413, ll. 32, 35).

XIV. City of Tanis (Blessing of Ptah, § 406, ll. 16-18).<sup>b</sup>

494. Besides the above, there are occasional unimportant doorway inscriptions, giving the building record in the conventional form as at Bet el-Walli, Kalabsheh<sup>a</sup> or a similar statue dedication as at Sebû<sup>c</sup>a. There must also be a number of architrave dedication inscriptions, like those of the Ramesseum, which are still unpublished.

#### I. GREAT TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL<sup>b</sup>

495. This, the most remarkable of the grotto temples of Egypt, was already far advanced in its construction, in the reign of Seti I. It is impossible to find any other explanation of the fact that an inscription of Ramses II's first year<sup>c</sup> is found in the doorway at the rear of the first hall, which connects it with the second hall.

496. The building inscription accompanies a relief<sup>d</sup> showing Ramses II enthroned, with an official named Ramses-esshahab (*R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-<sup>c</sup>š<sup>p</sup>-hb*) bowing before him. The inscription shows that Ramses II is instructing him to build a temple in honor of Horus of He,<sup>e</sup> which may be some other temple than that of Abu Simbel. There is no mention of any previous work by Seti I; and the interesting references to the use of foreign prisoners in the work might imply that it was done after the wars of Ramses had begun.

Before the said officer are the words:

King's-butler of his majesty, L. P. H., Ramses-eshahab, triumphant; he says: "As for all that comes out of thy mouth, it is like the words of Harakhte."

497. A longer inscription above and behind him is introduced by the full fivefold titulary of Ramses II, accompanied by poetic epithets, such as "*he who spreads out his wings over his army*," and closing appropriately with "*maker of monuments in the house of Horus, his august father*." The inscription then proceeds:

498. Behold, as for his majesty, L. P. H., he is vigilant in seeking <sup>11</sup>every profitable occasion, by doing excellent things for his father, Horus, <sup>12</sup>lord of He (*H<sup>3</sup>*), <sup>a</sup>making for him his house of myriads of years, by excavating in this mountain of He, [which no] one before [did], except the son of <sup>13</sup>Amon, lord of —. His might is in all lands; bringing for him multitudes of workmen from the captivity of his sword in every country. He has filled the houses (*pr'w*) of the gods <sup>14</sup>with the children of <sup>b</sup>Retenu (*Rtnw*). [Afterward he] gave orders <sup>c</sup>to the king's-butler, Ramses-eshahab, to equip the land of Kush anew in the great name of his majesty, L. P. H. He said: "Praise to thee! O valiant king of Egypt, sun of the Nine Bows. There is no rebel in thy time, every land is pacified. Thy father, Amon, has decreed for thee that every land be beneath thy feet; he gives to thee south as well as north, west and east, and the isles in the midst of the sea."

499. A dedication <sup>d</sup>to Harakhte is as follows:

Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Harakhte, <sup>e</sup>great god, lord of Nubia (*T<sup>3</sup> -pd't*).

## II. SMALL TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL

500. The smaller grotto temple on the north of the large temple was made by Ramses II for his queen, Nefretiri, as the divinity to whom it was dedicated:

<sup>a</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for the Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, beloved of Mut —, a house hewn in the pure mountain of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-pd·t*), of fine, white and enduring sandstone, as an eternal work.

Its origin is sometimes also ascribed to the queen herself.

<sup>b</sup>The Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, beloved of Mut; she made a house in the pure mountain.

501. Other references to the construction of the monument are these:

<sup>c</sup>Ramses-Meriamon, beloved of Amon, like Re, forever, made a house of very great monuments, for the Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, fair of face — —.

His majesty commanded to make a house in Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-pd·t*), hewn in the mountain. Never was done the like before.

### III. TEMPLE OF SERREH<sup>d</sup>

502. "Southward of the village of Serreh, . . . on the western bank of the Nile, and about ten miles north of Halfa, are the foundations of a temple built by Ramses II." The architrave dedications have perished, but one of the doors still bears the words (twice):

Great door of Usermare-Setepnere; he made (it) as his monument for his living image in the land of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-pd·t*); its beautiful name, which his majesty made, is: "Usermare-is-Splendid-in-Strength."

Ramses II was thus himself the god of this temple, as Amenhotep III was at the Nubian temple of Soleh.

### IV. TEMPLE OF DERR

503. This temple was dedicated to Re-Harakhte by Ramses II. On its later history, see IV, §§ 474-83.

<sup>a</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Harakhte; making for him the "House-<sup>b</sup>of-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Re."

Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt-t<sup>3</sup>wy*); making for him a temple in the House of Re.

#### V. TEMPLE OF SEBÛ<sup>c</sup> A

504. A so-called hemispeos, by the village of Sebû<sup>c</sup> a, built by Ramses II, who called it "*House of Amon*." He was himself one of the deities worshiped in it.

The dedications are as follows:

<sup>c</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as a monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods.

A pillar in the forecourt bears the following:<sup>d</sup>

Ramses-Meriamon in the House of Amon; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great and august pillar, adorned with every splendid costly stone; that he might be given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, every day.

#### VI. TEMPLE OF EL KAB

505. A small temple to Nekhbet, built within the city wall by Ramses II, bears the following dedication:

<sup>e</sup>[<sup>f</sup>Ramses II<sup>3</sup>; he made (it) as his monument for his mother, Nekhbet], making for her a great pylon, — [— —] of fine white sandstone, its length is 15 cubits; its door is of cedar, the <sup>f</sup>mounting<sup>3</sup> thereof of copper; <sup>f</sup>with<sup>3</sup> the great name of <sup>f</sup>my majesty<sup>3</sup> ———.

VII. TEMPLE OF LUXOR<sup>a</sup>

506. Ramses II built a peristyle court in front of the Eighteenth Dynasty Luxor temple, with a façade of two large pylon-towers. To do this, he destroyed a beautiful granite chapel of Thutmose III, which had stood in front of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. The architect was the High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, who has left a brief record of the building on his statue (§§ 561-68). The king's only building record, as far as published, is contained in the following dedication inscriptions:

507. <sup>b</sup>Mighty Bull, exalter of Thebes, Favorite of the Two Goddesses, establishing monuments in Luxor for his father, Amon, who placed him upon his throne; Golden Horus, seeking excellent things for him who fashioned him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him the "Temple (*ht-ntr*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon<sup>c</sup>-in-the-House (*pr*)-of-Amon," of fine white sandstone, which the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever, made for him.

508. The other two dedications are substantially the same as far as the words: "*house of Amon*;" one<sup>d</sup> then proceeds:

In front of Luxor, erecting for him a pylon (*bḥn·t*) anew; its flag-staves approach heaven; which the Son of Re, etc. (as above).

The other continues:<sup>e</sup>

Its beauty is unto the height of heaven, a place of the appearance for the lord of the gods, at his feast of (Luxor).



## VIII. TEMPLE OF KARNAK

509. Ramses II brought to completion at Karnak the works begun by his two predecessors. He erected all of the columns in the southern half of the great hypostyle hall, except the two short rows immediately south of the nave, Seti I having completed the northern half, the nave with both rows of flower-columns and the first row of bud-columns of the southern half. Ramses II further built a girdle wall entirely around the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, to widen it to the increased width of the new hall in front. The Nineteenth Dynasty Karnak temple thus became the largest temple ever erected in the history of building, whether ancient or modern.

510. Although the conception, and for the most part the erection, of the great hall belong to Seti I and his father, the dedication inscriptions were largely added by Ramses II in his own name.

<sup>a</sup>Ramses II, mighty king, making monuments in the house of his father, Amon, building his house in eternal work, established forever. Lo, the Good God inclined his heart to make monuments, sleeping or waking, he ceased not seeking to do excellent things. It was his majesty who gave the regulations, and led the work on his monuments. All his plans come to pass immediately, like those of his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, a likeness indeed of that which the excellent maker, the maker of excellent things, made, which his majesty made ——— of excellent and eternal work. Every country is beneath thy feet, O king, ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt t'wy*), making for him the "Temple-of-the-Spirit- (*Y'p*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon-over-against-Karnak (*Y'p-t-ys'wt*)," of fine white sandstone; a resting-place for the lord of gods, a beautiful refuge for the divine ennead; surrounded by — columns; the walls thereof are like the two mountains of Aphroditopolis,

established, made very [—]; its beauty (reaches) to the height of heaven.

*Amon Speaks to the Gods*

511. <sup>a</sup>“Behold ye, this beautiful, pure and enduring monument, which my son, of my body, my beloved, King Ramses II, hath made for me; whom I brought up from the womb, to make excellent things for my house; whom I have begotten in the fashion of my (own) limbs, to celebrate the ‘Going Forth’ of my ka. Ye shall endow him with satisfying life, ye shall form his protecting suite, and be his associate when he is with you. He shall be a spirit as ye are spirits; his name shall flourish as your names flourish to the end of the two periods (of sixty years) and forever; according to that which he has built for Karnak for the first time, of fine white sandstone. He hath given joy to my dwelling more than (his) predecessors have done. . . . .”

512. Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, making for him the “Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Ramses-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon,” of fine white sandstone. Its beauty (reaches) to the height of heaven, over against Karnak; its august columns are of electrum, made like every place that is in heaven. (It is) mistress of silver, queen of gold, it contains every splendid costly stone. “I have made it for thee with a loving heart, as a profitable son does for his father, by enlarging the monuments of him that begat him, and establishing the house of him that caused him to take the whole land.”

<sup>b</sup>Live the Good God, who makes monuments for his father, Amon-Re.

513. The dedications on the architraves<sup>c</sup> of the nave, above the windows, are also of Ramses II, and only repeat the above dedications. The architect who erected the gigantic columns of the hypostyle was Hatey, who reverts to his achievement among his titles<sup>d</sup> thus:

Great chief of works on all the monuments of his majesty, erecting great columns in the House of Amon.

#### IX. THE RAMESSEUM

514. The beautiful mortuary temple of Ramses II on the west side at Thebes, known as the Ramesseum, was combined with a palace<sup>a</sup> which has since perished. The temple itself, while it has preserved some of the most important historical records of Ramses II's reign contains no building inscription except the usual dedication<sup>b</sup> on the architraves:

515. Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great and august broad-hall (*wsh' t*) of fine white sandstone, its nave<sup>c</sup> of great flower-columns, surrounded by bud-columns: a place of rest for the lord of gods at his beautiful "Feast of the Valley;" that he might, through him, be given life ————<sup>d</sup> shaping his sacred barque like the horizon-god, founding daily offerings, doing the things which please his father, causing that his house should be for him like Thebes, supplied with every good thing, granaries reaching heaven, an august treasury containing silver, gold, royal linen, every real costly stone, which King Ramses II brought for him.

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## X. TEMPLE OF KURNA

516. This mortuary temple of Seti I was left unfinished by him, and his son, Ramses II, states the fact in his inscriptions, narrating also that he completed it for his father; in doing which he made his own dedication inscriptions more prominent than those of his father.

517. <sup>a</sup>He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes, restoring the house of his father, King Seti I, triumphant. Behold, he went to his retreat, he attained heaven, he joined Re in heaven; while this his house was in course of construction. Its doors were in ruin at their stations, and all its walls of stone and brick; no work therein was finished, neither inscriptions nor sculpture. Then his son, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II, commanded to build the works in his house of millions of years, over against Karnak, and [to fashion] his<sup>b</sup> image resting in his house, gilded with electrum, when the god sails in <sup>1</sup>person<sup>1</sup> at his feast of the valley to rest in<sup>c</sup> his house, as the first of the kings.

518. <sup>d</sup>Utterance of the gods and goddesses who are in the North-land, to their son, King Ramses II, given life: "We have come to thee, our arms bearing offerings, and supplied with provision and food. We have gathered to thee every good thing of all that grows upon earth,<sup>e</sup> in order to make festive the house of thy father. As thou art his beloved son, so art thou like Horus, the protector of his father, in taking the inheritance of the Two Lands. How goodly is the [son<sup>f</sup>] who restores what is ruined! Thou hast built the house of thy father, completed in its work, thou hast fashioned his image for ————— of gold ————— thou hast — divine offerings ————— I have — that

which thou hast done 'again for' the house of their father. Thou hast endowed it with satisfying life; as a benevolent son is, so art thou.

519. <sup>a</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; restoring the house of his father, King Seti I. ————— they erected all its walls of — stone; no work therein was finished,<sup>b</sup> neither inscriptions nor sculpture  
.....<sup>c</sup>

520. <sup>d</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, restoring for him the house of his father, King Seti I. Lo, (he is) in heaven ————— its doors are of real cedar, surrounded with walls of brick established forever, which the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon, made for him.<sup>e</sup>

521. Ramses II recognized the temple, however, as sacred also to his grandfather, as he indicates in these dedications:

<sup>f</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father's father, the Good God, Ramses I, triumphant.

<sup>g</sup>Renewal of the monument which King Ramses II made for his father's father, the Good God, Ramses I, in the monument of his father, the Lord of the Two Lands, Seti I.

<sup>h</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, the Good God, Menpehtire (Ramses I), making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes, of good white sandstone, wherein Amon rests, like Re, in the horizon of heaven.<sup>h</sup>

522. While acknowledging thus the original dedication of the temple to the mortuary service of his father and grandfather, Ramses added also a series of dedications in his own name alone. These are as follows:

<sup>a</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument to his father, for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes, (of) fine white sandstone, the doors thereof of real cedar, which [the Son of Re], Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, made for him.

. . . . .<sup>b</sup> making for him a broad-hall of appearance in front of his Great House, a place of appearance for the lord of gods at the "Feast of the Valley" ———.

#### XI. SETI I'S TEMPLE AT ABYDOS

523. See Great Abydos Inscription (§§ 262-77).

#### XII. RAMSES II'S TEMPLE AT ABYDOS<sup>c</sup>

524. This inscription contains a brief record of the building and endowment of Ramses II's mortuary temple at Abydos.

525. Lo, his majesty, L. P. H., was "Son-Whom-He-Loves," the champion of his father, Wennofer, by making for him a beautiful, august temple, established for eternity, of fine limestone of Ayan; a great double pylon of excellent work; portals of granite, the doors thereto of copper, wrought with figures in real electrum; a great seat of alabaster, mounted in granite, his excellent seat of the beginning; a mesken-chamber for his divine ennead, his august father who rests therein, and Re when he has reached heaven. His protecting image is beside him that fashioned him, like Horus, upon the throne of his father.

526. (He) established for him permanent daily offerings, at the beginnings of the seasons, all feasts at their times, offered to his ka.

He filled it with every thing, overflowing with food and provision, bulls, calves, oxen, geese, bread, wine, fruit; (it) was filled with peasant-slaves, doubled in fields, made numerous in herds; the granaries were filled to bursting, the grain-heaps approached heaven, —<sup>a</sup> for the storehouse of divine offerings, from the captivity of his victorious sword.

527. His treasury was filled with every costly stone, silver, gold in blocks; the magazine was filled with every thing from the tribute of all countries. He planted many gardens, set with every (kind of) tree, all sweet and fragrant woods, the plants of Punt. The Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners, great god, lord of Abydos, made (it) for him.

528. The dedications of the temple doors are as follows:<sup>b</sup>

1. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, residing in "House (*h t*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon-Possessing-Abydos;" making for him a doorway of black granite, the doors mounted with copper, and gilded with electrum,<sup>c</sup> which his son, Ramses II, made for him.

2. Live the god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, lord of Abydos, making for him a great doorway of pink granite, the doors of bronze in beaten work (called): "Portal-of-Usermare-Setepnere-Raiser-of-Monuments-in-Abydos."

529. The dedication inscription of the shrine-chamber is partially preserved on a fragment of alabaster, thus:

He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, making for him a "Great Seat" of pure alabaster ———.

### XIII. MEMPHIS TEMPLES<sup>d</sup>

530. Ramses II built largely at Memphis, and a temple on the south of the sacred lake was chiefly due to him.

One of his temples there was called "*The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere-in-the-House-of-Amon-in-Memphis.*"<sup>a</sup> But Ramses' works in Memphis have perished with the city. The chief literary references to them are in the Great Abydos Inscription (§ 260, l. 22), and the Blessing of Ptah (§§ 412, 413, ll. 32-35). A paragraph in a letter of instructions from an official to his subordinate refers to Ramses II's Thoth-temple in Memphis, and mentions repairs on the Sphinx, which may be of later date:

531. <sup>b</sup>I have heard that thou hast taken the eight laborers (*h<sup>3</sup> y*) who were working in the "House-of-Thoth-of-Ramses-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-Satisfied-with-Truth" in Memphis. Thou shalt deliver them to draw stone for<sup>c</sup> the Sphinx in Memphis.

532. References to Ramses II's Ptah-temple are rare. The following interesting building inscription<sup>d</sup> is so fragmentary that the name of the king is uncertain. As it lies in the temple chiefly due to Ramses II, he is the most probable king to whom we may refer it. It was upon a great stela which marked the "*Station of the King,*" or ceremonial station occupied by the Pharaoh during the official ritual ceremonies. Like similar stelæ at Thebes in the temples



of Amenhotep III (II, 904, 910), Elephantine (II, 791), and Amâda (II, 791-97), it bore an account of the erection of the building in which it stood. As in the building inscriptions of Thutmose III (II, 131 ff.), Amenhotep III (II, 878-92), and others, it is introduced by an account of the king's coronation. Enough of the fragmentary inscription is preserved, to show that, as in the coronations of Thutmose III and Harmhab, Amon appeared in public, delivered an oracle proclaiming him king, and proceeded to the palace to crown him. In all probability, therefore, the oracle and the crowning by Amon, were the regular custom at the accession of every king in the Empire. Hence the innumerable conventional references to Amon's having fixed the diadem upon the Pharaoh's head designate an actual ceremony. That this prerogative of Amon was not originally his, but was usurped from Re, is evident. Undoubtedly a similar ceremony took place at Heliopolis at the accession of every Pharaoh, from the Fifth Dynasty on, to the assumption of the rite by Amon at an uncertain date after the rise of Thebes.

*Amon and His Gods Come Forth*

533. 1———— 2— his house of Luxor, with his ennead (*psd' t*) behind him. When the land brightened again, and day came ———.

*Oracle Naming King*

534. ——— 3Thou art my son, the heir who came forth from my limbs. As I am, shalt thou be, with none except thee ———. 4Their offerings shall be doubled, they shall recognize thee as my son who came forth from my limbs. I have gathered ———.

*Coronation in the Palace*

535. ——— 5coming to him, to the palace. He placed himself before him in the shrine of his august son ——— 6Amon [—]. Lo, Amon came, with his son before him, to the palace, to fix his diadem upon his head, to exalt the two plumes ———.

*Character of Reign*

536. ———— <sup>2</sup>that he might do what satisfies thee. He has avoided deceit, and expelled lying from the land, while his laws are firm, in the administration of the regulations of the <sup>1</sup>ancestors<sup>1</sup> ———— <sup>3</sup>diadem [—]. He has [—] the circuit of the sun, all lands are together doing the <sup>1</sup>service<sup>1</sup> of this great god, [—] like ————.

*Station of the King, and Building Inscription*

537. <sup>9</sup>He made (it) as his monument for his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, making for him a "Station of the Ruler"<sup>a</sup> of gritstone, over against [—]<sup>b</sup> ———— <sup>10c</sup>doors upon them<sup>c</sup> of real cedar, in order to make splendid the house of [—],<sup>d</sup> in order to purify the way which his father, Ptah, treads. He gave to him a house anew ———— <sup>11</sup>of — cubits, of every splendid costly stone; its flagstaves are of real cedar, wrought with Asiatic copper, their tips of electrum. A broad-hall was made [—] ———— . . . . .<sup>e</sup>

## XIV. CITY OF TANIS

See Blessing of Ptah (§ 406, ll. 16–18); see also above note on XIV, p. 211.

STELA OF THE YEAR 400<sup>f</sup>

538. This monument was erected at Tanis by an important official of Ramses II, named Seti. He had been dispatched thither to erect a stela in honor of Seti I, and improved the

opportunity to place a stela of his own, bearing a record of his visit in the temple, to which he appended prayers for the favor of the god, as so many officials did in Abydos. Although headed with the full titulary of Ramses II, the document is dated in the four hundredth year of King Opehtiset-Nubti, a Hyksos ruler. This remarkable fact shows that the reign of this king began an era—the only one known in Egypt—which had survived in use at Tanis into the Ramessid times.<sup>a</sup> Unfortunately, the stela does not give the year of Ramses II in which it was erected. Wiedemann dates it, as it seems to me with probability, at Ramses II's death. In any case, the knowledge of the lapse of 400 years between the Hyksos Nubti and some year of Ramses II is of great value.

539. At the top of the monument is a relief, showing Ramses II offering wine to Set. Behind the king stands Seti, the author of the monument, praying, as follows:

— — — thy ka, O Set, son of Nut, mayest thou grant a happy life following thy ka, to the ka of . . . . .<sup>b</sup> [Seti].

540. Below the relief is Seti's record of his commission, with the appended prayer, as follows:

Live . . . . .<sup>c</sup> King Ramses II, sovereign, who equips the Two Lands with monuments in his name, so that Re rises in heaven for love of him, King Ramses II.

541. His majesty commanded to make a great stela of granite

(*ynr-n-m<sup>2</sup> · t*), in the great name of his fathers, in order that the name of his grandfather,<sup>a</sup> King Menmare, Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, might be exalted, enduring and abiding forever, like Re, every day.

542. In the year 400, in the fourth month of the third season, on the fourth day, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Opehtiset (*ꜥꜣ -phty-St*); Son of Re, his beloved: Nubti,<sup>b</sup> whom Harakhte desires to be forever and ever; came the hereditary prince, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, fan-bearer on the right of the king, chief of bowmen, governor of foreign countries, commandant of the fortress of Tharu (*Tꜣ -rw*), chief of the foreign gendarmes, king's-scribe, master of horse, chief priest of the Ram-god, lord of Mendes, High Priest of Set, ritual priest of Buto-Upet-Towe, chief of prophets of all gods, Seti, triumphant, son of the hereditary prince, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, chief of bowmen, governor of foreign countries, commandant of the fortress of Tharu, king's-scribe, master of horse, Peramscs, triumphant; born of the lady (*nb · t-pr*), the musician of Re (*Pꜣ -Rꜥ*), Teya (*Ty-ꜣ*), triumphant. He said: "Hail to thee, O Set, son of Nut, great in strength in the barque of millions of years, 'overthrowing enemies' in front of the barque of Re, great in terror, ——— [grant me] a happy life following thy ka, while I remain in ———."

### ROYAL JUBILEE INSCRIPTIONS

543. The sources for the jubilee celebrations of Ramses II are fuller than for those of any other king. Unfortunately, his obelisks, although far more numerous<sup>c</sup> than those of his

ancestors, bear inscriptions of a very vague and general nature, extolling the king's power and glory,<sup>a</sup> and containing no references to the royal jubilees, to celebrate which they were erected. Indeed, they do not, for the most part, show even the former conventional dedication inscription.<sup>b</sup>

544. A good example of this, is the Heliopolis obelisk, left uninscribed by Seti I, which was then inscribed by Ramses II, who with, for him, unusual generosity, appropriated only one side for his own inscription. Its inscriptions are as follows:<sup>c</sup>

*North Side*

545. . . . .<sup>d</sup> (Seti I), whose monuments are excellent in Heliopolis seat of eternity, like the four pillars of heaven, abiding, enduring at

the forecourt of Re. The ennead of gods is satisfied with his deeds. (May) the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of the gods of Heliopolis, [live] like Re.

*South Side*

546. . . . . (Seti I), who adorned Heliopolis for him who is therein, who purified it for Re, its lord; the lords of heaven and earth rejoice; his favor is doubled because of his deeds. May the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of Harakhte, live through him, like Re.

*West Side*

547. . . . . (Seti I), who filled Heliopolis with obelisks, shining with rays; the house of Re is flooded with his beauty, and the gods of the Great House rejoice. May the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of the ennead of gods which is in the Great House, be given life through him (*nj*).

*East Side*

548. . . . . Ramses (II), who has made his monuments like the stars of heaven, whose works mingle with the sky, rejoicing over which Re rises in his house of millions of years. It was his majesty who beautified<sup>a</sup> this monument for his father, in order to cause that his name should abide in the house of Re. May Ramses (II)-Meriamon, beloved of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, be given life through him (*nj*).

549. It will be seen that the obelisk has become more and more a monument of a general character in celebration of the king's glory, and has lost its exclusive significance as a memorial of the royal jubilee. This is indicated also by the fact that memorial inscriptions commemorating the celebration of the royal jubilees are to be found in Upper Egypt from el Kab to Philæ, as if other record than the obelisks were necessary. From these commemorative inscriptions the following table of jubilees may be reconstructed:<sup>b</sup>

550. Year 30,<sup>a</sup> first jubilee.

Year 33,<sup>b</sup>  
Year 34,<sup>c</sup> } second jubilee.

Year 37,<sup>d</sup> third jubilee.

Year 40,<sup>e</sup> fourth jubilee.

Year 41,<sup>f</sup>  
Year 42, } fifth jubilee.

Year 44,<sup>g</sup> sixth jubilee.

Year [47 ?],<sup>h</sup> seventh jubilee.

Year [50 ?],<sup>i</sup> eighth jubilee.

Year [53 ?],<sup>i</sup> ninth jubilee.

551. Most of these celebrations, at least as far as the year 41, were in charge of Ramses II's favorite son, Khamwese,<sup>j</sup> assisted by another son, Khay, who continued later.

#### I. FIRST GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>k</sup>

552. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee of the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, given life forever.

[His majesty commanded] to celebrate the royal jubilee in the whole land.

King's-son, (sem-) priest, Khamwese, triumphant.<sup>l</sup>

II. BIGEH INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

553. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee. Year 34.<sup>b</sup> Repetition of the royal jubilee. Year 37.<sup>c</sup> Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Of the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever. His majesty commissioned the (*sm*-) priest, the king's-son, Khamwese, to celebrate the royal jubilees in the whole land.

III. SECOND GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

554. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 34. Repetition of the royal jubilee.

Year 37. Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 40. Fourth occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Under the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever.

His majesty commanded to commission the (*sm*-) priest, king's-son, Khamwese, to celebrate the royal jubilees in the whole [land] in South and North.

IV. THIRD GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>e</sup>

555. This inscription is a duplicate of the preceding, the lacuna in which it supplies. It shows an incorrect variant, calling the jubilee of year 37, the fourth.



V. FOURTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

556. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 34. Repetition of the royal jubilee.

Year 37.<sup>b</sup> Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 40. Fourth occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Under the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever.

His majesty commanded to commission the hereditary prince, (*mry-ntr*-) priest, attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, chief justice, judge, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, Khay, triumphant, to celebrate the royal jubilees [in the] whole [land], in South and North.

VI. SEHEL INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

557. Year 40. Came the king's-son, (*sm*-) priest of Ptah, satisfying the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khamwese, to celebrate the [fourth] royal jubilee [in the whole] [land in South and North].

VII. EL KAB INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

558. Year 41. Came the king's-son, (*sm*-) priest of Ptah, satisfying the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khamwese, to celebrate the fifth royal jubilee [in the whole] [land].

VIII. FIFTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

559. Year 42, first month of the second season, day 1, of King Ramses II, given life, forever and ever. His majesty commanded to commission the vizier Khay (*H<sup>c</sup> y*), to inaugurate the fifth royal jubilee of King Ramses II, in the whole land.

IX. SIXTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>b</sup>

560. Year 44.<sup>c</sup> First month of the second season, day 1, under the majesty of the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, given life forever — —; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever.

His majesty commanded to com[mission] the hereditary prince (*mry-ntr-*) priest, chief justice, judge, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, Khay, [triumphant, to celebr]ate the sixth royal jubilee, in the whole land, in the districts of South and North.

INSCRIPTION OF BEKNEKHONSU<sup>d</sup>

561. The most important of Ramses II's officials who has transmitted a mortuary autobiography to us, was Beknekhonsu, the High Priest of Amon. He tells us every step in his career, with the length of each office, as follows:

Infancy, 4 years, from 1 to 4.

Youth, 12 years, from 5 to 16. (Being chief of the stable at least a part of this time.)

Priest, 4 years, from 17 to 20.

Divine father, 12 years, from 21 to 32.

Third prophet, 15 years, from 33 to 47.

Second prophet, 12 years, from 48 to 59.

High Priest,<sup>a</sup> 27 years, from 60 to 86.

562. Beginning under Seti I, he must have been of about the same age as Ramses II, and was likewise the only official known to us who survived almost if not quite, as long as the aged Ramses himself.<sup>b</sup> In addition to his sacerdotal duties, he was also chief architect, and as such built a temple for Ramses II, "*at the upper portal of the house of Amon,*" which can only be the Luxor temple of Ramses II. He also refers to its obelisks, its flagstaves, its lake, its gardens, and other accessories which he provided for the temple. He is further found serving as judge in a civil suit in the forty-sixth year of Ramses II.<sup>c</sup>

#### *Titles*

563. 'Hereditary prince, count, High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, triumphant; he says:

#### *Career*

564. "I was a truthful witness, profitable to his lord, extolling the instruction of his god, proceeding upon his way, performing the excellent

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ceremonies in the midst of his temple. I was chief overseer of works in the house of Amon, satisfying the excellent heart of his lord. O all ye people, take account in <sup>2</sup>your hearts; ye who are on earth, who shall come after me, in millions of millions of years, after old age and infirmity, whose hearts are versed in discerning worth; I will inform you of my character while I was upon earth, in every office which I administered since my birth."

565. 1. "I passed four years in extreme childhood (*nds*).

2. I passed twelve years as <sup>3</sup>a youth (*hwn*), while I was chief of the training-stable<sup>a</sup> of King Menmare (Seti I).

3. I acted as priest (*w<sup>c</sup> b*) of Amon, during four years.

4. I acted as divine father of Amon, during twelve years.

5. I acted as third prophet of Amon during fifteen years.

6. I acted as second prophet of Amon during twelve years.

7. He<sup>b</sup> favored me, he distinguished me, because of my rare merit. He appointed me to be High Priest<sup>c</sup> of Amon during twenty-seven years."

### *Character*

566. "I was <sup>4</sup>a good father to my serf-laborers, training their classes, giving my hand [to] him who was in trouble, preserving alive him who was in misfortune, performing the excellent duties in his temple. I was chief overseer of works before Thebes for his son, who came forth from his limbs, King Ramses II, given life, maker of monuments for his father, Amon, <sup>5</sup>who placed him on his throne."

The assistant, the High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, triumphant, made (it).

### *Building of Luxor Temple*

567. He says as follows: "I performed the excellent duties in the house of Amon, being chief overseer of works of my lord. I made for him a temple (called): 'Ramses-Meriamon-Hearer-of-Petitions,' at

the upper<sup>a</sup> portal of the house (*pr*) of Amon. I erected obelisks<sup>b</sup> therein, of granite, whose beauty approached heaven. A wall <sup>6</sup>was before it of stone over against Thebes; it was flooded;<sup>c</sup> and the gardens were planted with trees. I made very great double doors of electrum; their beauty met the heavens. I hewed very great flagstaves, and I erected them in the august forecourt in front of his temple."

*Sacred Barges*

568. "I hewed great barges of the 'Beginning-of-the-River,' for Amon, Mut, and Khonsu; by the hereditary prince, High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu."

## REIGN OF MERNEPTAH

### THE INVASION OF LIBYANS AND MEDITERRANEAN PEOPLES

569. For this, one of the most serious invasions which have ever threatened Egypt, we possess a series of four documents, which furnish a fairly full account of its course, the ensuing battle, and the resulting relief in Egypt. They are the following:

- I. The Great Karnak Inscription (§§ 572-92).
- II. The Cairo Column (§§ 593-95).
- III. The Athribis Stela (§§ 596-601).
- IV. The Hymn of Victory (§§ 602-17).

570. These sources enable us to see the already aged Merneptah facing the evil conditions on his Libyan frontier, inherited from the decades of neglect which concluded his great father's reign. The Libyans have for years past been pushing into and occupying the western Delta.<sup>a</sup> They pressed in almost to the gates of Memphis, eastward to the district of Heliopolis, and southward to the two oases nearest the Fayûm. Worse than this, they had made a coalition

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with the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean, who now poured into the Delta from Sardinia on the west to Asia Minor on the east. The mention of these peoples in these documents is the earliest appearance of Europeans in literature, and has always been the center of much study and interest.<sup>a</sup> With the sympathy, if not the direct assistance of the Kheta, the Libyan king, Meryey, put himself at the head of these combined allies and invaded the Delta, bringing his wives and belongings, and apparently intending a permanent occupation. Some time during the first half of the tenth month (late in March), in Merneptah's fifth year, a messenger reached him with the news. Rallying his forces immediately, Merneptah met the enemy on the third of the eleventh month (about April 15) at Perire in the western Delta, and in six hours' fighting routed their combined forces with immense slaughter. He pursued them from Perire to the rise of the Libyan desert, called the "*Mount of the Horns of the Earth.*"

571. It is difficult to understand the exact interrelation of the numbers given in the Great Karnak Inscription and the Athribis Stela, but over 9,000 of the enemy were slain, possibly as many more taken prisoners, while many horses and cattle, and vast numbers of weapons were captured. The Libyan king was forced to ignominious flight, his camp, his wives, and his personal belongings falling into the hands

of the Egyptians. After setting fire to the camp, the Egyptians carried the plunder in triumph to the king, who viewed the trophies of the dead, the prisoners, and the spoil. He then returned home, and in the royal palace, probably at Memphis, he delivered a triumphal address, to which the court responded with acclamation. The people of the Delta, on hearing the news, break out into rejoicing that peace and safety are restored to them.

#### I. GREAT KARNAK INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

572. This, one of the longest documents preserved on the temple walls of Egypt, gives the fullest account which has survived to us of the great victory of Merneptah over the Libyans. The prominence of Ptah in the narrative betrays the Memphite origin of the document, but the original which doubtless once existed in Memphis has now perished.

573. The document does not offer us any idea of the



course of the battle, beginning the account of the conflict itself almost immediately with the rout of the Libyans; but it is gratifyingly full regarding the conditions which led up to the battle and the immense plunder which resulted from it. In style it is often so highly colored, and effuse in poetic figures, that the translation is rendered difficult.

### *Title*

574. <sup>1</sup>[Beginning of the victory which his majesty achieved in the land of Libya]<sup>a</sup> ————— i, Ekwesh (<sup>2</sup> -*k* <sup>2</sup> -*w* <sup>2</sup> -*š* <sup>2</sup>), Teresh (*Tw-rw-š* <sup>2</sup>), Luka (*Rw-kw*), Sherden (*Š* <sup>2</sup> -*r* <sup>2</sup> -*d-n*), Shekelesh (*Š-k-rw-š* <sup>2</sup>), Northerners coming from all lands.

### *Valor of Merneptah*

575. <sup>2</sup>— — — — —<sup>b</sup> his valor in the might of his father, Amon; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Binre-Meriamon; Son of Re: Merneptah-Hotepirma, given life. Lo, this Good God, flourishing — — — — —<sup>3</sup> — — — — — his [fathers] all the gods, as his protection. Every country is in fear at the sight of him, King Merneptah.<sup>c</sup> 4— — — — — desolated, made a waste, commanding that the invader of his every boundary of Egypt bow himself down in his time, 5— — — — — all his [plans] (whose) verdict is the breath of life. He causes the people to be care-free, sleeping while the terror of his strength is in 6— — —.

### *Preparation of Defenses*

576. — — —, to protect Heliopolis, city of Atum, to defend the stronghold of Ptah-Tatenen, to save — from evil 7— — — — — tents<sup>d</sup>

before Per-Berset (*Pr-b<sup>2</sup> -r<sup>2</sup> -ys<sup>1</sup> t*),<sup>a</sup> [reaching]<sup>b</sup> the Sheken (*Š<sup>2</sup> -k<sup>2</sup> -n<sup>2</sup>*) canal on the [—]<sup>c</sup> of the Eti (*ʿ -ty*)<sup>d</sup> canal.

### *Libyan Aggression*

577. <sup>8</sup>— — — — not cared for, it was forsaken as pasturage for cattle because of the Nine Bows, it was left waste from the times of the ancestors. All the kings of Upper Egypt abode in their pyramids <sup>9</sup>— — — —; the kings of Lower Egypt [rested]<sup>e</sup> in the midst of their cities, inclosed in the state palace, for lack of troops; they had no bowmen to answer against them.

### *Accession of Merneptah, and His Preparations*

578. It happened <sup>10</sup>f— — — — he [assumed]<sup>1</sup> the throne of Horus, he was appointed to preserve the folk (*p<sup>c</sup> t*) alive, he hath arisen as king to protect the people (*rhy<sup>1</sup> t*). There was might in him to do it, because of — — — <sup>11</sup>g in — — — — Meber (*M<sup>2</sup> -b<sup>2</sup> -r<sup>2</sup>*),<sup>h</sup> the choicest of his bowmen were mustered, his chariotry was brought up from every side, his scouts were in — — — his [—] in <sup>12</sup>— — — — his —. He considered not hundreds of thousands in the day of the array. His infantry (*mnfy<sup>1</sup> t*) marched out, the heavy armed<sup>i</sup> troops arrived, beautiful in appearance, leading the bowmen against every land.

*News of Coalition of Libyans and Sea-Peoples against Egypt*

579. <sup>a</sup> — — — <sup>13</sup> — — — — — the third season, saying: "The wretched, fallen chief of Libya, Meryey (*M-r<sup>2</sup> -y<sup>2</sup> -yw-y*), son of Ded (*Dy-d*), has fallen upon the country of Tehenu with his bowmen <sup>14</sup> — — — — — Sherden (*[Š]<sup>2</sup> -r<sup>2</sup> -d-n*), Shekelesh (*Š<sup>2</sup> -k-rw-š<sup>2</sup>*), Ekwesh (*<sup>2b</sup> -k<sup>2</sup> -w<sup>2</sup> -š<sup>2</sup>*), Luka (*Rw-kw*), Teresh (*Tw-ry-š<sup>2</sup>*), taking the best of every warrior and every man of war (*phrr*) of his country. He has brought his wife and his<sup>c</sup> children <sup>15</sup> — — — — — leaders of the camp, and he has reached the western boundary in the fields of Perire."<sup>d</sup>

*Merneptah's Speech*

580. Lo, his majesty was enraged at their report, like a lion; <sup>16</sup> [The assembled his court<sup>1</sup>, and said to th]em: "Hear ye the command of your lord; I give — — as ye shall do, saying: I am the ruler who shepherds<sup>e</sup> you; I spend my time searching out <sup>17</sup> — — — — — you, as a father, who preserves alive his children; while ye fear like birds, and ye know not the goodness of that which he does. Is there none answering in <sup>18</sup> — — — — — [Shall the land be<sup>1</sup> wa]sted and forsaken at the invasion of every country, while the Nine Bows plunder its borders, and rebels invade it every day? Every — takes <sup>19</sup> — — — — — to plunder these fortresses. They have repeatedly penetrated the fields of Egypt [to<sup>1</sup> the [great]<sup>f</sup> river. They have halted, they have spent whole days and

months dwelling <sup>20</sup> — — — —. They have reached the hills of the oasis,<sup>a</sup> and have cut off the district<sup>b</sup> of Toyeh (*T<sup>2</sup>-yh*).<sup>c</sup> 'So<sup>d</sup> it has been since the kings of Upper Egypt, in the records of other times. It was not known <sup>21</sup> — — — — as worms, not considering their bodies, (but) loving death and despising life. Their hearts are exalted against the people<sup>e</sup> <sup>22</sup> — — — — their chief. They spend their time going about the land, fighting, to fill their bodies daily. They come to the land of Egypt, to seek the necessities of their mouths; their desire is <sup>23</sup> — — — — my bringing them like netted fish on their bellies. Their chief is like a dog, a man of 'boasting', without courage; he does not abide — <sup>24</sup> — — — — bringing to an end<sup>f</sup> the Pedetishew (*Pd·ty-šw*),<sup>g</sup> whom I caused to take grain in ships, to keep alive that land of Kheta.<sup>h</sup> Lo, I am he whom the gods —, every ka <sup>25</sup> — — — — under me, King Merneptah, given life. By my ka, by the —, as I flourish as ruler of the Two Lands 'the land shall be made' <sup>26</sup> — — — — Egypt. Amon nods approval, when<sup>i</sup> one speaks in

Thebes. He has turned his back against the Meshwesh (*M-š<sup>3</sup> -w<sup>3</sup> -š<sup>3</sup>*), and looks [not] on the land of Temeh (*T<sup>1</sup>-m-h*), when they are <sup>27</sup>—."

### *Beginning of the Campaign*

581. — — — —<sup>a</sup> the leaders of the bowmen in front thereof to overthrow the land of Libya. When they went forth, the hand of the god was with them; (even) Amon was with them as their shield. The land of Egypt was commanded, saying: <sup>28</sup>"— — — — — [rea]dy to march in fourteen days."

### *Merneptah's Dream*

582. Then his majesty saw in a dream as if a statue of Ptah were standing before Pharaoh, L. P. H. He was like the height of <sup>29</sup>— — — — —. He spake to him: "Take thou (it)," while he extended to him the sword,<sup>b</sup> "and banish thou the fearful heart from thee." Pharaoh, L. P. H., spake to him: "Lo, <sup>30</sup>— — — — —,"<sup>c</sup>

### *Approach of the Two Armies*

583. — infantry and chariotry in (great) number<sup>d</sup> were camped before them on the shore (*rwd*)<sup>e</sup> in front of the district of Perire (*Pr-yr*). Lo, the wretched chief of <sup>31</sup>[Libya] — — — — — in the night of the second day of the third month of the third season (eleventh month) when the land grew light (enough) for advancing with them. The wretched fallen chief of Libya came at the time of the third day of the third month of the third season (eleventh month), and he brought <sup>32</sup>— — — — — until they arrived. The infantry of his majesty went forth together with his chariotry, Amon-Re being with them, and the Ombite (Set) giving to them the hand.

*The Battle*

584. [Every] man <sup>33</sup>— — — — — their blood, there was none that escaped among them. Lo, the bowmen of his majesty spent six hours of destruction among them; they were delivered to the sword upon <sup>34</sup>— — — — — of the country. Lo, as they fought — —; the wretched chief of Libya halted, his heart fearing; withdrew (again), stopped, knelt, <sup>35</sup>— — — — — [leaving] sandals, his bow, and his quiver in haste behind [him], and every [thing] that was with him. [— —] his limbs, great terror coursed in his members. <sup>36a</sup>Lo, [they] slew — — — of his possessions, his [equipment], his silver, his gold, his vessels of bronze, the furniture<sup>b</sup> of his wife, his throne, his bows, his arrows, all his works, which he had brought <sup>37</sup>from his land, consisting of oxen, goats, and asses, [and all were carried away] to the palace, to bring them in, together with the captives. Lo, the wretched chief of Libya was in speed to flee [by himself], while all <sup>38</sup>the people among the captains — — — among the wounded of the sword. Lo, the officers (*snn*), who were upon the horses of his majesty, set themselves after them — — felled with <sup>39</sup>arrows, carried off, slain, — —.

*Retrospect*

585. No [man] has seen it in the annals of the kings of Lower Egypt; lo, this land of Egypt was in [the]ir power, in a [state] of weakness in the time of the kings of Upper Egypt, <sup>40</sup>so that their hand could not be repelled, — — — — — these — out of love of their beloved son, in order to protect Egypt for her lord, that the temples of Egypt might be saved, and in order to announce <sup>41</sup>the mighty power of the [Good] God — — — — —.

*Escape of Libyan Chief*

586. [The commandant] of the fortress of the West<sup>c</sup> [sent] a report to the Court, L. P. H., saying, as follows: "The fallen Meryey (*Mw-*

ⲉⲓ - ⲓⲓ - ⲓ) has come, his limbs have fled because of his 'cowardice', and (he) passed by me, by favor of night, in safety.<sup>a</sup> 42 — — — — want; he is fallen, and every god is for Egypt.<sup>b</sup> The boasts which he uttered, have come to naught; all that his mouth said has returned upon his (own) head. His condition is not known (whether) of death 43 [or of life] — — —. Thou hast — him of his fame; if he lives, he will not (again) command, (for) he is fallen, an enemy of<sup>c</sup> his (own) troops. It is thou who hast taken us, to cause to slay 44 — — — —<sup>d</sup> in the land of Temeh (*Ty-m-h-w*) [and of Libya<sup>e</sup>]. They have put another into his place, from among his brothers, another who fights him,<sup>f</sup> when he sees him. All the chiefs are 'disgusted' 45 — — —."

### *Triumphal Return*

587. [Then returned] the captains of archers, the infantry (*mn/y-t*), and chariotry; every contingent of the army, whether recruits, or heavy armed troops,<sup>g</sup> 46 [carried off the plunder] — — [driving] asses before them, laden with the uncircumcised<sup>h</sup> phalli of the country of Libya, together with the hands of every country that was with them, "like fish